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AMERICAN EDUCATION

An Introduction

EDUCATION FOR LIVING SERIES

Under the editorship of

H. H. REMMERS

AMERICAN EDUCATION

An Introduction

By

EMMA REINHARDT

HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
EASTERN ILLINOIS STATE COLLEGE
CHARLESTON



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AMERICAN EDUCATION: AN INTRODUCTION

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To My Mother

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

TODAY public education is even more than usual the object of appraisal, reappraisal, and often heated attack. Whatever else this lively concern may indicate, it is certainly an index of the value and importance attributed to education. That it is—next to parenthood—the most important business of our country is a proposition that receives more lip service than the kind of material support commensurate with its importance.

Because of the cultural lag inherent in our dynamic society, many erroneously see education as a luxury, indulgence in which has got out of hand by way of "fads and frills." They suffer from "The Old Oaken Bucket" delusion, nostalgically affirming "How dear to my heart are the scenes of my childhood." They are oblivious to the demonstrated need and economic as well as social value of an education geared to the kind of society and world in which we now live. It is not too much to say that survival of our society, its values and way of life depend very largely upon the impact that education, broadly conceived, will have upon our citizenry. It is, in a most fundamental sense, the "bastion of democracy."

Education valid for citizens of a democracy must "see life steadily and see it whole" and must implement democratic values. Judged by each of these standards Dr. Reinhardt has written a superior book. Moreover, for one reader at least, she has injected more of human warmth than is often found in similar works. That a course in an introduction to education can be largely a dreary recital of names, dates, places and events is attested by regretful memory of such a course. The present volume is happily in pleasant contrast. It has warmth without sacrifice of scholarship and without failure to face reality.

While Dr. Reinhardt gives the usual historical development of

education in this country, she also introduces highly relevant material that in too many teacher training programs has been slighted. Notable here is the inclusion of cultural anthropological concepts. Teachers need to understand our culture and subcultures in all their complex variations if they are to teach all the children of all the people. And such understanding does not come simply from living in a culture, any more than living in a given economy makes one an economist.

The book too is written by a teacher—students are challenged. Problems and methods of solving them are well provided but pat answers are not. The appendices of selected references and audio-visual materials arranged by chapters, a list of books on teachers (autobiography, biography and fiction), the Code of Ethics of the National Education Association of the United States, and, finally, "Then and Now," sketching our educational progress since about 1920—all of these will provide enrichment for the student and welcome aids to the teacher.

I close with a quotation from Dr. Reinhardt's text: ". . . Whether or not we have 'tomorrows that sing' depends, finally, not upon soldiers or other wartime heroes, but upon citizens prepared to carry on peacetime activities with the same skill and devotion that our fighting men display. Whether or not we have such citizens depends in no small measure upon the work of teachers, the sculptors of new citizens."

H. H. REMMERS

P R E F A C E

American Education: An Introduction is written especially for students who are preparing to teach. They are likely to be enrolled in their first course in education—a course that may well be their most significant. If it is challenging and stimulating, they may gain respect for education as an area of study that will be reflected in their subsequent professional work. They may develop pride in teaching as a calling that will lead them to recognize it as a career deserving of the talents of our most gifted people.

For several decades authors have been writing textbooks intended to give an introductory view of the broad field of education. The earliest books were often encyclopedic in scope. They touched sketchily upon a vast array of topics. Although some still follow this plan, the trend is toward the inclusion of a limited number of topics with fairly comprehensive yet not exhaustive treatment.

This volume presents an overview of education in the United States and information concerning opportunities in and requirements for teaching. Major topics chosen for consideration are the individual and the culture, educative agencies in the community, the role of the school in a democracy, the development, administration, and financial support of schools in the United States, modern elementary and secondary schools, characteristics of good teachers, certain aspects of preparation for teaching, and teaching as an occupation.

Although designed primarily for prospective teachers, this book is also useful for students not specializing in education who desire an understanding of the school in the modern social order, for teachers in service who wish to keep abreast of the times, and for public-spirited laymen who seek to be informed about education in general.

The author is indebted to many writers, editors, and publishers

who have generously granted permission for the use of excerpts and illustrations from their works. Specific acknowledgments are made in appropriate places throughout the book. However, her obligation to these persons is also gratefully acknowledged here.

The author wishes also to express her gratitude to many colleagues at Eastern Illinois State College who have given valuable suggestions and assistance. Among them are Dr. Elizabeth K. Lawson, Dean of Women, who read the entire manuscript, and Dr. Arthur F. Byrnes, Director of the Audio-Visual Education Center, who prepared the list of audio-visual material.

December, 1953

EMMA REINHARDT

AMERICAN EDUCATION

An Introduction

The Individual and the Culture

"THE INFANT, mewling and puking in the nurse's arms," gives slight promise of his potentialities of development. Only familiarity with the course of human maturation enables us to envision the growth of a squirming, helpless body into "the whining school-boy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping like snail unwillingly to school."

The human infant, unlike the young of lower animals, does not have his patterns of future behavior clearly established at birth. Instead he has a highly plastic neuro-muscular-glandular system. At first he makes undifferentiated, diffuse, random movements. He cries, coos, gurgles, wiggles, grimaces, opens and closes his hands, and slashes with his arms and legs. He responds indiscriminately to various forms of stimulation. Sooner or later, in a way that we cannot discern precisely, from his aimless movements emerge co-ordinated actions and specialized forms of behavior.

Contrasted with subhumans, which have greater development at the time of birth, the human infant is immature and helpless. Table I gives illuminating information about the number of accomplishments of a monkey and a baby. The monkey with its early acquisition of skills appears precocious, but its illusory superiority is secured at the expense of little talent for learning. The range of its attainments is severely circumscribed, and the peak of its ability quickly reached. The baby, unlike the monkey, is off to a slow start. His apparent initial handicap, however, turns out to be an asset. He is endowed by original nature with a small repertory of specific skills but with an untold capacity for learning. During his prolonged infancy he lays the foundation for adaptation to a complex environment and, in the course of time, forges far ahead of the monkey.

An experiment by Kellogg and Kellogg throws further light on comparative accomplishments of an ape and a child and on the

TABLE 1. Chronological Table Comparing the Ontogenetic Ages of Similar Developmental Items in *Macacus rhesus* and in Man¹

Developmental Items	Age of Appearance in Macaque	Age of Appearance in Man
Crying, sneezing, suckling, winking	1 day	1 day
Response to sound (unadaptive)	2 days	1 day
Head and eyes turn to follow object	3 days	2-3 mos.
Grasp at object seen (visual stimulus)	5 days	5-6 mos.
Recognitive responses to sound	11 days	5-6 mos.
First attempts to walk	12 days	12 mos.
Solid food first eaten	4 weeks	6-12 mos.
Scoops objects with palmar prehension	3 weeks	6 mos.
Opposes thumb and fingers	5 weeks	7-10 mos.
Sustains weight by reflex clasping	0-3 days	0-3 weeks
Plucks pellet (or grain of corn) opposing thumb and fingers	6 weeks	10 mos.
Attempts to draw mother into play	5 weeks	10-18 mos.
Holds head up steadily and gazes about	5 days	3-4 mos.
Follows moving hand with eyes	6 days	3-4 mos.
Attempts to crawl	12 days	9 mos.
Runs (trots)	14 days	18-24 mos.
Weaned	7 weeks	6-12 mos.
Crumpling explorative play with paper	8 weeks	6-9 mos.
Attains virtually all adult vocalizations	9 weeks	12-24 mos.

limits set by heredity. In 1931 they took a female chimpanzee, Gua, aged 7½ months, and for nine months reared her with their son Donald, who was two and a half months older. They treated the chimpanzee and the child as nearly alike as possible, and tried to provide an identical psychological and physiological environment. Careful tests, experiments, and comparisons were made throughout the period. In the early part of the experiment the chimpanzee was equal and, in some respects, superior to the child. Gua had greater muscular strength, superior muscular coördination, quicker and more accurate movements, greater accuracy in localization of sound, superior memory, and faster rate of learning in all fields such as skipping, opening doors, eating with spoon and drinking from a glass, and bladder and bowel training. She was more coöperative, was quicker to obey, showed a tendency to kiss for forgiveness, and evinced more frequent sly behavior. She was also sensitive to weak stimuli such as faint noises and raindrops. Her faster rate of

¹ A. Gesell, *Infancy and Human Growth*, The Macmillan Company, 1928, p. 345. Reprinted by permission of the author.

learning was probably due to a more rapid rate of maturation. However, toward the end of the nine-month period, Donald progressed more rapidly in acquiring verbal and manual skills. Up to the age of about a year, the ape was superior to the child, but after that the child began advancing at a more rapid rate. At the close of the experiment the child's abilities were expressed by an index of 68, as compared with the ape's 58. While at first the ape outdistanced the child, she was handicapped eventually by limits set by inheritance.

INTERRELATION OF HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT

Man is molded by heredity and environment. So inextricably are they intertwined that we do not know which counts more heavily. Both are ever present and mutually dependent. From the moment of conception environment constantly influences hereditary factors. Given original nature, environment can modify it in a most significant manner.

Basically man is an animal. He is a biological organism with certain physiological needs; he must drink, eat, breathe, and eliminate waste substances. The lengths to which he will go to satisfy a basic need may be demonstrated by his efforts to secure food if he is starving. A person who would ordinarily abhor crime may, like Jean Valjean, steal a loaf of bread to satisfy hunger. A parent who would usually teach his children to be law-abiding citizens may become the person described in the headline "‘Fagin’ Father Given Year on Penal Farm." An unemployed father in this instance ordered his fourteen-year-old son to steal chickens and loot automobiles in order that the family might have food. When need is imperative, things not ordinarily used for food may be consumed. In *The Good Earth* Pearl Buck tells of pitiful attempts to sustain life during famine in China. "The cobs of corn they had dried and eaten, and they stripped the bark from trees, and all over the countryside people were eating what grass they could find upon the wintry hills. There was not an animal anywhere. A man might walk for a handful of days and see not an ox nor an ass nor any kind of beast or fowl."² A little earth was stirred up and given to the children. "This earth they had been eating in water for some days—goddess of mercy

² Pearl Buck, *The Good Earth*, The John Day Company, 1931, p. 76

earth, it was called, because it had some slight nutritious quality in it, although in the end it could not sustain life. But made into a gruel it allayed the children's craving for a time and put something into their distended, empty bellies."³

As a physical organism man has certain capacities or structures that mark him off from other animals and limit his accomplishments. He cannot breathe oxygen from water like a perch; he cannot run with the speed and grace of a gazelle; he cannot soar high in the sky like an eagle.

But man is more than a biological organism. He is a social animal. He is dependent upon others not only for survival but also for human qualities. The traits that make him distinctively human seem to rest on society and culture. Although he could not acquire these qualities without native structures that mark him off from other animals, still the human characteristics are apparently learned, not native. Human nature is the product of social experience and interaction. Left to himself, man is a brutish being.

In this respect, man and lower animals differ strikingly. Lower animals develop their distinctive qualities even though they have no contact with others of the species. As Benedict puts it:

There are societies where Nature perpetuates the slightest mode of behaviour by biological mechanisms, but these are societies not of men but of the social insects. The queen ant, removed to a solitary nest, will reproduce each trait of sex behaviour, each detail of the nest. The social insects represent Nature in a mood when she was taking no chances. The pattern of the entire social structure she committed to the ant's instinctive behaviour. There is no greater chance that the social classes of an ant society, or its patterns of agriculture, will be lost by an ant's isolation from its group than that the ant will fail to reproduce the shape of its antennae or the structure of its abdomen.⁴

EFFECTS OF ISOLATION

We have no experimental evidence to indicate the extent to which distinctively human behavior is learned. Our concern for the welfare of children prevents experimentation that would virtually rule out human association. Hence, we must draw our inferences about

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. II.

effects of isolation from three sources: (1) reports, not entirely trustworthy, of children abandoned at an early age and brought up by wild animals; (2) accounts of children kept in seclusion and reared with a minimum of human contacts; (3) studies of children with sensory defects that limit their participation in social-environmental influences. We shall review cases to illustrate each of these sources of information.

VICTOR

One of the authenticated accounts of a feral child is that of Victor, the Wild Boy of Aveyron, who was first seen on the edge of a French forest in September, 1799. He was probably twelve years old, and had been lost or abandoned at about the age of four. He was naked and was seeking acorns and roots to eat. He was captured and taken to a house in the hamlet, but in a week he escaped and returned to the mountains. Later he was recaptured and transferred ultimately to the National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.

As far as sensory functions were concerned, Victor was inferior. His eyes were unsteady and expressionless. He could not distinguish an object in relief from one in a picture. His ears were equally insensitive to the loudest noises and to the most touching music. He uttered only a uniform guttural sound. His sense of smell was so untrained that he was unable to distinguish the odor of perfume from the fetid odor of dirt. His hands were used only for the mechanical function of grasping objects.

As far as intellectual functions were concerned, Victor was incapable of attention except for the objects of his needs. He lacked memory, judgment, and ability to imitate. He lacked means of communication. He passed rapidly from melancholy to peals of laughter without apparent reason. He never cried.

Dr. Pinel, director of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, diagnosed the boy as feeble-minded and recommended permanent commitment. Dr. Itard, another French physician, disagreed with the diagnosis and secured permission to reëducate him. He classified his program under five aims:

1. To interest him in social life by making it more pleasant than his former manner of life.

2. To stimulate his nervous system by massage and occasionally by intense emotion.
3. To extend the range of his ideas by giving him new needs and broadening his social contacts.
4. To develop his use of speech through imitation and necessity.
5. To encourage exercise of the simplest mental operations in regard first to his physical needs and later to other activities.

For five years Itard carried out his program faithfully. He succeeded in improving Victor's sensory reactions such as sight, touch, and taste, and in multiplying the range of his ideational behavior. Victor learned to apply conventional symbols of thought in naming objects, their qualities, and their actions. He learned to express his wants to people around him and to receive orders from them. He showed emotional responses to human beings. He was aware of the pleasure of well-doing, ashamed of his mistakes, and repentant of his outbursts. In spite of his achievements, Victor did not become a normal human being. He died in 1828 at the age of forty.

KASPER HAUSER

The case of Kasper Hauser, who was found near Nuremberg, Bavaria, in 1828, is similar in some respects to that of Victor. He had been regarded as a royal pretender or an heir to a princely German house. Until the age of seventeen he was kept in solitary confinement in a dark cell so small that he could not stand upright. He never saw the face of the man who brought him food. When released he could walk only with difficulty. He could scarcely use his hands and fingers. He could not understand what was said to him and could speak only one sentence. He could see well at night but he had no visual idea of distance. His hearing was acute and his touch was sensitive. Intensive training was only partially successful. This may have been due to the serious effects of his prolonged isolation. His autopsy revealed a small brain without abnormalities.

KAMALA AND AMALA

Two "wolf children," Kamala and Amala, were reported in India in 1920. A brief account of their capture by the person who claimed actually to have taken them is on record:

Eight years ago I was on a tour of my villages. One evening one of my people said, "There are ghosts in the woods. We are much afraid." So I watched the next night. Just before sundown three old wolves came up out of a hole. Then two cubs and at last a queer human-like animal. The man with me wanted to shoot. But I forbade him. No one would go near the den so I got men from seven miles distant who knew not of the ghosts. They dug out the den. Two wolves ran off; the third was killed with an arrow. She being the mother refused to run away. Down in the bottom of the den cuddled up with two furry cubs were two queer little girls devoid of clothing. Against their desires we gathered them up and brought them home. Whether they were illegitimate and thrown away or torn from their mother's cottage door by the wolves, we do not know. For the first four or five years they ran about on their hands and knees. After being compelled to, they could stand but not run. The younger never learned to talk, could only grunt and growl. The older one lived to be a little over six years of age with the mentality of a two and one-half year old child. She learned to talk and developed a vocabulary of about one hundred words. They never asked questions. Their jaws were large and square supposedly from gnawing bones. Both have been dead for some time.⁵

Since the "wolf children" were not examined by scientists, information about their behavior and capacity for learning is uncertain. The older girl's physician thought that she "could have returned to an ordinary human condition from the stage of animal existence."

TAMASHA

Still another feral child was Tamasha of Salvador, an eight-year-old boy found in the jungles in Central America. Aside from animal grunts and growls his only word was the Pipil Indian word for village, *tamasha*. He preferred raw to cooked foods. When given milk in a glass he spilled it and lapped it up from the floor. He curled up like a dog under his bed instead of sleeping in it. He was taken to the Rafael Campo Agricultural School where Chulo undertook to train him. The boy learned to wear clothes and to bathe. He excelled in running and swimming, and in using bow and arrow. He acquired a considerable vocabulary. He did not remember human parents but thought that he had always lived in the jungle, and he remembered eating with animals.

⁵ W. N. Kellogg, "What About the 'Wolf Children' of India," *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1931, pp. 508-509.

ANNA

Perhaps more significant for us than the foregoing cases are those of Anna and Isabelle, discovered in 1938 in the United States. The information, although incomplete, adds another bit to our knowledge of the effects of extreme isolation.

Anna, aged five, second of two illegitimate daughters of a woman in her twenties, was found in February, 1938, in the attic of the farmhouse of her maternal grandparents in Pennsylvania. She was "just bones, with skin drawn over them." She had not been fed solid foods, and she had not been bathed or trained in personal habits. She could not talk, stand, chew, or drink. To all appearances she was deaf, dumb, and blind. Her responses to people were indifferent or antagonistic.

At first Anna was taken to a county old-folks' home. Although her physical and mental condition improved, she was still unable to speak after four months. However, after six months she learned to walk. Her posture and motor coördination improved, and her interest in people increased.

After nine months Anna was placed in a foster home where under kindly supervision she made definite progress. She showed further improvement in walking and other motor habits, and in responding to verbal directions. In August, 1939, she was admitted to a private school for defectives. In spite of her progress in walking, feeding herself, keeping neat, remembering people, and understanding simple commands, she was unable to speak. Her mental development was about that of a one-year-old child. By April, 1940, she had normal hearing and vision and she had reached the "babbling stage" in speech. Her score on the Merrill-Palmer scale was 19 months; on the Vineland Social Maturity scale, 23 months.

By July, 1941, Anna had grown in height and weight, started to talk, and adjusted somewhat to group life with other children. According to the school report, "There was nothing peculiar about her except that she was feeble-minded—'probably congenital in type.'" Approximately a year later she had made further improvement. She had learned to walk and run, to keep herself neat, to repeat words, to talk—mainly in phrases—and to try to carry on a conversation. From an apathetic, antagonistic child she had grown into one who,

though "easily excited," had "a pleasant disposition." She died in August, 1942.

How much of Anna's retardation was attributable to her early isolation and how much to a hereditary defect we cannot know. Her test scores indicated an intelligence level of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. Yet when placed in favorable surroundings she made some advancement in caring for herself and in responding to other people.

ISABELLE

Nine months after Anna's case was brought to light, Isabelle, an illegitimate child aged six, was discovered in Ohio in seclusion in a dark room with her deaf-mute mother. She made croaking sounds but could not speak. She walked "with a skittering gait." Toward strangers, especially men, she manifested fear and hostility. She was removed to an institution where she was given careful training. From her first tests examiners concluded that she was feeble-minded. Her score on the Stanford-Binet test was 19 months, and on the Vineland Social Maturity scale 39, an age level of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years. After two months Isabelle began putting sentences together, and in nine months she identified words and sentences on the printed page. She could write well, retell a story after hearing it, and count to ten. Seven months later she had a vocabulary of 1500 to 2000 words and asked complicated questions. Davis, who saw her a year and a half after she was found, said that she gave him "the impression of being a very bright, cheerful, energetic little girl." By the age of eight and one-half she had reached a normal level. In other words, in two years she had covered the stages of learning that usually require six. By fourteen she had passed the sixth grade in the public school and was participating normally in school activities. Her remarkable progress seems due chiefly to an improved social environment.

HELEN KELLER

Helen Keller represents an extreme case of isolation because of sensory defects. Since she is deaf and blind, touch is her means of contact with the outside social world. The story of her life gives significant clues to the process of socialization.

Helen Keller was born on June 27, 1880, in Tuscumbia, Alabama. She was normal until the age of nineteen months when illness de-

prived her of sight and hearing. At six months she could say "How d'ye" and "Tea, tea, tea." She learned the word "water" before her illness and continued to say "wah-wah" until she learned to spell the word. She walked the day she was a year old. She says that after her illness she felt the need of communicating with others and began making crude signs. For her a shake of the head meant "No"; a nod, "Yes"; a pull, "Come"; and a push, "Go." If she wanted bread, she imitated the acts of cutting slices and buttering them.

Miss Keller does not remember when she first realized that she was different from other people, but it was before her teacher arrived. This difference was a source of great frustration to her. She writes: "Sometimes I stood between two persons who were conversing and touched their lips. I could not understand, and was vexed. I moved my lips and gesticulated frantically without result. This made me so angry at times that I kicked and screamed until I was exhausted."⁶

Miss Keller relates a number of instances that show her fits of temper. She kicked her nurse; she domineered over her colored playmate, Martha Washington, who submitted to her tyranny rather than risk a hand-to-hand encounter. She became vexed with her dog, who was inattentive to lessons in the sign language; they always ended in a one-sided boxing match. One day she spilled water on her apron and spread it out to dry before the sitting-room hearth. When it did not dry quickly enough to suit her, she threw it into the hot ashes. She learned to use a key and locked several people out of their rooms. She was jealous of her younger sister and on one occasion overturned her cradle. She explains: "Thus it is that when we walk alone in the valley of twofold solitude we know little of the tender affections that grow out of endearing words and actions and companionship. But afterward, when I was restored to my human heritage, Mildred and I grew into each other's hearts. . . ."⁷

The arrival of her teacher, Anne Mansfield Sullivan, on March 3, 1887, marked a turning point in Helen Keller's life. The morning after Miss Sullivan came she gave Helen a doll and slowly spelled into her hand the word "d-o-l-l." The child learned to spell a num-

⁶ Helen Keller, *The Story of My Life*, Grosset & Dunlap, Inc., 1902, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ber of words such as *pin, hat, cup, sit, stand, and walk*, but it was several weeks before she understood that everything has a name. On April 5, 1887, her teacher wrote: "Helen has taken the second great step in her education. She has learned that *everything has a name, and that the manual alphabet is the key to everything she wants to know*."⁸ This insight occurred at the pump house. When the water gushed over one hand, her teacher spelled into the other the word *water*. Helen says: "Suddenly I felt a misty consciousness as of something forgotten—a thrill of returning thought; and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. I knew then that 'w-a-t-e-r' meant the wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free."⁹ In a few hours she added thirty new words to her vocabulary. Within a year it had increased to 900 words.

After Helen Keller acquired a medium through which she could be reached by social influences, she began to share in the cultural life and to build up social habits and attitudes. Her teacher pictures her as a natural child, fond of fun, patient, kindhearted, sociable, and interested in other children. The contrast in the child before and after she acquired a channel of communication illustrates dramatically how dependent human beings are upon other persons for socialization and the acquisition of human traits.

Available evidence concerning the effects of isolation shows that human beings if left to themselves are more animal than human. "Without communication," says Cooley, "the mind does not develop a true human nature, but remains in an abnormal and nondescript state neither human nor properly brutal." In the absence of human contacts man develops some form of locomotion, some types of gross emotional reaction, and certain specialized sense adaptations. However, he does not acquire responses that demand social learning. Perception, judgment, higher thought processes, and speech, as we know them in human beings, are not present. Without these, the distinctive qualities of human nature are lacking.

VARIATIONS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

We have just noted that through association with others of his own kind man takes on human characteristics. We may show, too,

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

that differences in behavior and personality depend upon his environment. So early and so inexorably does environment affect him that it is difficult to know which characteristics are "native" and which are "learned."

We shall cite studies of primitive people made by anthropologists, to illustrate how traits that are often regarded as "native" are shaped by divergent cultures. As examples we shall use the traits of masculinity and femininity, and of coöperation and competition.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE TRAITS

Mead lived among three primitive tribes on the island of New Guinea—the Arapesh, Mundugumor, and Tchambuli—in an attempt to discover to what degree temperamental differences between the sexes are innate and to what extent they are culturally determined. She found that neither the Arapesh nor the Mundugumor have made any attitude specific for one sex. Instead they have tried to develop a single human type. The Arapesh, a mountain-dwelling people, have a personality that is commonly thought of as predominantly feminine. Men and women alike are gentle, passive, coöperative, affectionate, and responsive to the needs of the young and weak. The Mundugumor, a river-dwelling people, have a personality that is popularly regarded as masculine. They are aggressive, possessive, and careless of the young and the weak. The Tchambuli, a lake-dwelling people, make a point of sex difference. They stress both masculine and feminine patterns of temperament but in reverse to our conception of the traits for each sex. Men are expected to show interest in music and the arts. Women are engaged in fishing, gardening, the weaving of mosquito bags, and other economic activities. They become dominating, possessive, robust, practical, and impersonal in outlook. Mead comments after this fashion:

While there is reason to believe that not every Tchambuli woman is born with a dominating, organizing, administrative temperament, actively sexed and willing to initiate sex-relations, possessive, definite, robust, practical and impersonal in outlook, still most Tchambuli girls grow up to display these traits. And while there is definite evidence to show that all Tchambuli men are not, by native endowment, the delicate responsive actors of a play staged for the women's benefit, still most Tchambuli boys manifest this coquettish play-acting personality most of

the time. Because the Tchambuli formulation of sex-attitudes contradicts our usual premises, we can see clearly that Tchambuli culture has arbitrarily permitted certain human traits to women, and allotted others, equally arbitrarily, to men.¹⁰

As a result of her investigations, Mead reached the conclusion that probably "many, if not all, of the personality traits that we have called masculine or feminine are as lightly linked to sex as are the clothing, the manners, and the form of headdress that a society at a given period assigns to either sex."

COÖPERATION AND COMPETITION

Another study by Mead of the Zuñi and Kwakiutl, both Indian people of North America with similar biological stocks, shows the influence of culture on the traits of competition and coöperation.

The Zuñi. The Zuñi, a pueblo-dwelling tribe of New Mexico, place high value on coöperation. All members are expected to serve the interests of the whole group. Ownership is defined by use. A family may claim control of only as much land as it can keep under cultivation. Sheep are owned individually but are herded coöperatively, and the wool and meat are shared by the family and the community. Personal property although individually owned is freely loaned. Ceremonial objects are recognized as personal property, but they may be used by anyone who can do so.

Family life centers around matrilineal descent and maternal control of the household. The women, however, are not the ones who carry on economic enterprises such as agriculture, herding, and work in turquoise. The men pool their labor in filling the common storeroom with corn which becomes the collective property of the women of the household. Likewise the men build houses jointly, but they belong to the women. If a man leaves his wife in the fall, he may leave a house that he has spent a year building and a full storeroom of corn, the result of a season's farming. Since he is thought to have no individual claim on either, he is not considered defrauded.

In matters other than property customs, the Zuñi manifest their lack of individualism. A man who seeks to be a "leader of his peo-

¹⁰ Margaret Mead, "Sex and Temperament," in *From the South Seas*, William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1939, p. 288.

ple" receives censure and may be persecuted for sorcery. He must avoid any appearance of leadership. "The ideal man in Zuñi is a person of dignity and affability who has never tried to lead, and who has never called forth comment from his neighbors. Any conflict, even though all right is on his side, is held against him. Even in contests of skill like their foot races, if a man wins habitually he is debarred from running. They are interested in a game that a number can play with even chances, and an outstanding runner spoils the game: they will have none of him."¹¹

The Kwakiutl. In striking contrast to the Zuñi, the Kwakiutl Indians of Alaska stress competition. They look upon ownership of property as a means of acquiring individual prestige. Mats, baskets, cedar-bark blankets, canoes, and shells are the currency of a complex monetary system which operates through the collection of exorbitant interest. Such usury is possible for three reasons. First, a supply of shells for money is easily obtained from the sea. Second, fictitious units of great value, the "coppers," are used. These are etched sheets of native copper of little intrinsic worth; their value is based on the amount paid for them when they last changed hands, perhaps 10,000 blankets and more. Third, payments are the work not of one individual but of an entire group or tribe.

Wealthy rivals seek to outdo each other in gifts, such as blankets, canoes, and copper, which they present to each other. The recipient must repay the value of the gifts with 100 percent interest at the end of the year. Inability to repay with such interest results in loss of social status. Thus property is used to shame rivals.

They say, "We do not fight with weapons. We fight with property." A man who had given away a copper had overcome his rival as much as if he had overcome him in battle array. The Kwakiutl equated the two. One of their dances was called "bringing blood into the house," and the hemlock wreaths the men carried were said to represent heads taken in warfare. These they threw into the fire, calling out the name of the enemies they represented and shouting as the fire flared up to consume them. The wreaths, however, represented the coppers they had given away, and the names they called out were the names of the rivals whom they had vanquished by the distribution of property.¹²

¹¹ Benedict, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Another way rivals seek to overcome each other is by destroying their possessions until one of the two is unable to match the display made by the other. Here is a description of attempts to subdue a rival:

The destruction of goods took many forms. Great potlatch feasts in which quantities of candlefish oil were consumed were reckoned as contests of demolition. The oil was fed lavishly to the guests, and it was also poured upon the fire. Since the guests sat near the fire, the heat of the burning oil caused them intense discomfort, and this also was reckoned as a part of the contest. In order to save themselves from shame, they had to lie unmoved in their places, though the fire blazed up and caught the rafters of the house. The host also must exhibit the most complete indifference to the threatened destruction of his house. Some of the greatest chiefs had a carved figure of a man upon the roof. It was called the vomiter, and a trough was so arranged that a steady stream of the valuable candlefish oil poured out of the figure's open mouth into the house fire below. If the oil feast surpassed anything the guest chief had ever given, he must leave the house and begin preparations for a return feast that would outstrip the one given by his rival. If he believed that it had not equalled a feast that he had previously given, he heaped insults upon his host, who then took some further way of establishing his greatness.

For this purpose the host might send his messengers to break in pieces four canoes and bring the pieces to heap upon the fire. Or he might kill a slave. Or he might break a copper. By no means all of the coppers that were broken at potlatches were lost to the owner as wealth. There were many gradations in the destruction of a copper. A chief who did not feel the occasion great enough for the gift of his valuable copper might cut out a section of it, and it was then necessary for his rival to cut out a section from an equally valuable copper. The return of goods followed the same course as if the whole copper had been given. In contests with different rivals a copper might be scattered many hundreds of miles along the coast. When at last a great chief succeeded in acquiring the scattered pieces, he had them riveted, and the copper had then a greatly increased value.

According to Kwakiutl philosophy, the actual demolition of the copper was only a variant of this practice. The great chief would summon his tribe and declare a potlatch. "Furthermore such is my pride, that I will kill on this fire my copper Dandalayu which is groaning in my house. You all know how much I paid for it. I bought it for four thousand

blankets. Now I will break it in order to vanquish my rival. I will make my house a fighting place for you, my tribe. Be happy, chiefs, this is the first time that so great a potlatch has been given." The chief put his copper upon the fire and it was consumed, or from some great headland he cast it into the sea. He was then stripped of his wealth, but he had acquired unparalleled prestige. He had gained the final advantage over his rival, who had to destroy a copper of equal value or retire in defeat from the contest.¹³

Unlike the Zuñi, who disparage personal authority, the Kwakiutl boast of their superiority in an uninhibited fashion. At their potlatches the chiefs speak unabashedly of their greatness. So anxious are they for prestige and power that failure leads to shame and often to suicide.

These examples drawn from the research of Mead and other anthropologists indicate that traits manifested by human beings depend largely upon their social heritage or, as anthropologists prefer to call it, their culture. At birth a child begins to acquire the practices of the group. Knowingly or unknowingly he takes on types of actions and forms of belief of the culture. Through these socially inherited ways of living his behavior and personality are shaped.

MEANING OF CULTURE

Thus far in the chapter we have used the term culture without defining it. To the lay reader the word may be a trifle confusing since for anthropologists it does not have the popular connotation of "refinement," "manners," "etiquette," or "the best." Culture is not the possession of a "privileged class," a "select" few. It is the sum total of different kinds of behaviors and objects found in the group. Tylor, an English anthropologist, defines culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." W. I. Thomas refers to culture as "the material and social values of any group of people, whether savage or civilized (their institutions, customs, attitudes, behavior reactions). . . ."

Culture has a twofold division: material and nonmaterial. Material culture is tangible and concrete. It includes all kinds of implements and objects whether raw materials or manufactured products

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-180.

—diverse items such as knives and forks, spears, machine guns, adobe huts, skyscrapers, telephones, television sets, tractors, sarongs, mink coats, fountain pens, helicopters, foodstuffs, books, and pictures. Nonmaterial culture is intangible. It comprises types of behavior and kinds of knowledge—customs, beliefs, habits, morals, folkways, political ideas, prejudices, and religious faiths.

Through countless ages the culture, a vast complex of social practices fashioned to fit the exigencies of new experiences, has evolved. Certain ways of life have become characteristic of a given group of people. They are the social inheritance of every individual who grows up in that society.

So powerful and inescapable is this social heritage that to say we have inherited it gives a false emphasis. According to Levy, "*It has inherited us*. We are delivered up to it at birth and it moulds us and shapes us. To an extent we fear to realize, we are its creatures. We have its taboos, its religions, its politics, its language. It has words we cannot utter, thoughts we must not think, criticisms we dare not voice, and organs of the body we examine only in private. It has habits and decencies, cruelties and crudities, we assimilate so naturally as to be unaware of them. If they are pointed out to us we cannot, we dare not, see them."

Because of social inheritance, man is in a very real sense the heir of the ages. Through mutual aid and through oral and written language he is able to profit from earlier experiences of the race. Each generation adds its bit to the sum total of human knowledge and passes on the accumulated mass to succeeding generations.

Without the process of social inheritance man in the short span of a single life could not acquire the equipment needed to cope with the complex physical and social world. What would happen if social inheritance were interrupted has been depicted by Graham Wallas:

If the earth were struck by one of Mr. Wells's comets, and if, in consequence, every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention, and memory, and habituation) nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and 99 per cent of the remaining tenth would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their

thoughts, and no thoughts but vague reverie. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. They would wander about, led by the inarticulate cries of a few naturally dominant individuals, drowning themselves, as thirst came on, in hundreds at the riverside landing places, looting those shops where the smell of decaying food attracted them, and perhaps at the end stumbling on the expedient of cannibalism. Even in the country districts, men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a northern winter. An attack of constipation or measles would be invariably fatal. After a few years mankind would almost certainly disappear from the northern and temperate zones. The white races would probably become extinct everywhere. A few primitive races might live on fruit and small animals in those fertile tropical regions where the human species was originally evolved, until they had slowly accumulated a new social heritage. After some thousands of generations they would probably possess something which we should recognize as a language, and perhaps some art of taming animals and cultivating land. They might or might not have created what we should call a religion, or a few of our simpler mechanical inventions and political expedients. They probably would not have re-created such general ideas as "Law" or "Liberty"; though they might have created other general ideas which would be new to us.¹⁴

UNIVERSALS OF CULTURE

An examination of culture patterns reveals that certain things are considered important in all cultures. This is to be expected since they have developed to help men satisfy their needs. Wissler analyzes the universal culture pattern:¹⁵

1. Speech
 - Languages, writing systems, etc.
2. Material traits
 - a. Food habits
 - b. Shelter
 - c. Transportation and travel
 - d. Dress
 - e. Utensils, tools, etc.
 - f. Weapons
 - g. Occupations and industries

¹⁴ Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 16-17.

¹⁵ Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1923, p. 74.

3. Art, carving, painting, drawing, music, etc.
4. Mythology and scientific knowledge
5. Religious practices
 - a. Ritualistic forms
 - b. Treatment of the sick
 - c. Treatment of the dead
6. Family and social systems
 - a. The forms of marriage
 - b. Methods of reckoning relationship
 - c. Inheritance
 - d. Social control
 - e. Sports and games
7. Property
 - a. Real and personal
 - b. Standards of value and exchange
 - c. Trade
8. Government
 - a. Political forms
 - b. Judicial and legal procedures
9. War

The elements of culture listed by Wissler do not necessarily represent all the forms that may eventually come into being. Culture is not fixed and unchanging; it is developing and dynamic. As new forms emerge, old ones disappear. The culture of today is a product of the past; the culture of tomorrow will be in part a creation of the present.

CULTURAL VARIATIONS

Although uniformities exist within culture patterns, there are also wide variations. We shall mention some of the variations in national, regional, class, and family cultures.

NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

William Graham Sumner defines ethos as "the totality of characteristic traits by which a group (i.e., a society) is individualized and differentiated from others." He points out that "the ethos of one group furnishes the standpoint from which it criticizes the ways of any other group." Orientals think that Americans confuse bigness, mere physical size, with greatness, and rapid change with progress.

Young observes that "when two such contrasting cultures come into contact with each other, conflict is very likely to ensue if one group tries to impose its will upon the other."

To pick out the dominant attitudes and beliefs that make up national characteristics is a baffling undertaking. Yet it is ever interesting because, as Ralph Barton Perry has said, "almost anybody can have an opinion without impertinence" and "there are no experts who have the answers."

Definition of national characteristics depends on the point of view of the observer. Nations, like individuals, often do not see themselves as others see them. Americans are surprised when foreigners regard "Uncle Sam" as "Uncle Shylock" or as an "imperialist."

We shall mention some features of American culture. As we attempt to select characteristics, we are struck by the fact that our statements are often paradoxical because our traits are frequently contradictory. Furthermore, as Ralph Barton Perry reminds us, "There is no American characteristic which is not exemplified elsewhere, or which some Americans do not lack. All that one can possibly claim is that there is among the people of this half-continent taken as a whole, a characteristic blend of characteristics."

Kimball Young suggests six characteristic features of American culture:

- (1) belief in individual material success and general national progress;
- (2) an amazing faith in universal literacy and education to solve our social and personal problems;
- (3) belief in the virtue of sheer size or bigness, witnessed in our eternal building of ever-larger skyscrapers, larger industrial plants, bigger corporations, and larger school plants;
- (4) rapid movement through space, seen in increased mobility of our population and enhanced means of communication and transportation;
- (5) novelty or constant change to something new and more exciting, as in sensational news, exciting drama, speed racing, crazes, and fads; and
- (6) sense of power or the craving for domination, especially in terms of physical bigness—the booster and the "bigger and better" spirit in almost every important feature of our public life.¹⁶

The list of characteristics might be extended indefinitely. Other students of the American scene include such items as cockiness, resourcefulness, versatility, genius for technological developments,

¹⁶ Kimball Young, *Sociology*, American Book Company, 2nd ed., 1949, pp. 37-38.

interest in sports, faith in hard work and thrift, and interest in joining organizations.

Whatever other features are mentioned, however, one characteristic is especially outstanding: belief in the principles of democracy. Americans believe in the infinite worth of every human being. They are devoted to freedom and are determined to maintain it for themselves and for others. They think that this is the greatest country in the world and will do whatever is necessary to preserve its rights. They are peace-loving in principle but warlike in practice. They have rarely had as long a period as a generation without a fight with someone. Although traditionally isolationist, they have engaged in two World Wars. Yet, even in the midst of war, they are interested in bringing about a durable peace in the world.

REGIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Striking variations in culture are found in different regions of the world. For instance, in the United States a husband is prohibited by law from having more than one wife at a time. In Nigeria he is permitted to have many wives. The Oba of Benin, Akenzua II, ruler of Nigeria, has eight wives. "My father had one hundred wives," he explains, "but I must be guided by the economic situation. I must limit my household." Each of the Oba's eight wives has her own suite in the harem—the part of the palace reserved for women. All eight are such good friends that they frequently invite one another to dinner. Daily they meet and chat in the common courtyard in the center of the palace.

In the United States, as William Allen White has phrased it, geographical regions are "not merely colored places on the map. They present different views of life." Both material and nonmaterial traits of their culture vary. Folsom illustrates the differences:

Culture is not a mere abstraction. It becomes vividly real when we study it geographically. It is distributed about the earth like flora and fauna. We can plot areas of culture on a map as we plot areas of heavy rainfall, of mountainous country, of forest or desert. On an automobile trip we discover that red barns, consolidated farmhouses, "overshoot" barns, women's sunbonnets, brick sidewalks, village greens, and other peculiarities occur within definite geographic limits, as surely as do white pine trees, mocking birds, natural lakes, and mosquitoes. We find,

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for example, that the large red barn, located at considerable distance from the veranda-adorned farmhouse, is characteristic of an area extending westward from New York and New Jersey. In northern New England the barn is seldom red; it is very close to the porchless house, and some of the outbuildings are nearly always consolidated with the house itself. In the South a still different farm architecture prevails. We discover also that the region of the red barn and the veranda is approximately the region where people pronounce their "r's," and where the Presbyterian is the dominant church. In New England "ah" means "i," and the white frame church at the head of the village green is Congregational. In Virginia, "ah" means long "i," and the quiet-looking brick church, at a less conspicuous corner, is apt to be Episcopal.¹⁷

A person who migrates from one region to another becomes aware of his dissimilarity from people who have spent years in the other region. The differences may be minor or fundamental. They may range from use of a colloquialism like "tote," a peculiarity in pronunciation like "boid," a preference for "grits," or a dislike of firecrackers at Yuletide, to differences in attitudes toward classes or minority groups and in ways of earning a living.

Children whose parents move from one region to another encounter the reality of regional behavior patterns. To avoid disagreeable tensions and to win approval of their peers youngsters must adapt to ways patterned by the cultural milieu.

CLASS CHARACTERISTICS

While certain rudimentary societies have no class structure, some kind of class system is found among nearly all peoples, even the nonliterate. In North America the Kwakiutl Indians, the Plains Indians, and the Pueblos all have a class organization. In such lands as Polynesia and New Zealand, many parts of Africa and Asia, and in Europe class structure is common.

In the United States for many years an open-class system prevailed. Membership in a class depended not upon birth but upon individual initiative and effort. In other words, attained status overshadowed ascribed status due to birth and lineage. Frontier conditions with abundant free land, rich natural resources, practically unlimited possibilities for expanding business, and political freedom

¹⁷ Joseph K. Folsom, *Social Psychology*, Harper & Brothers, 1931, p. 478.

with emphasis on democratic ideals all fostered the open-class pattern.

But with the passing of the frontier and the coming of modern industrialism social stratification has taken place. Reared in the democratic tradition, people in the United States are loath to admit the existence of class. They cherish the idea that "all men are created equal." Yet by their actions they belie their affirmations. Hollingshead, who studied the class system in Elmtown, a town of 6200 inhabitants in the middle-western corn belt, graphically puts the matter in this way:

Elmtowners in general are inconsistent in the way they talk and act with reference to the idea of classes. If they are asked bluntly, "Do you believe there are 'classes' in the community?" they are very likely to say "No." Yet, they will tell you the Binghamms are "a leading family here" or the "Sweitzers are like the Binghamms, Woodsons, McDermotts, and Jennings". These families are different from the rest of us; they are very exclusive. I guess you'd call them our aristocracy." During the course of the conversation, the same speaker will say that there are several different "types of families" in the community and, justifying his judgment by describing the "way they live," place them in different categories. The democratic tradition that there are no classes in American society is the reason for this type of behavior. Therefore, Elmtowners deny the existence of class directly but act as if classes exist.¹⁸

Examination of class structure in the United States reveals regional and rural-urban differences.

The class system of a rural community in Arkansas is reported by James West in *Plainville, U.S.A.* The class system as it appears to the average "better-class" adult who "bothers to think about it" is shown in Figure 1. The prairie people included a small "upper crust" and a large group made up of "good, honest, self-respecting, average, everyday working people." The hillbillies consisted of the "good, lower-class people" and a nonreligious group which included at the bottom "people who live like animals."¹⁹

Another investigation of a rural community was made by MacLeish and Young in Landaff, New Hampshire. The inhabitants

¹⁸ This and other quotations reprinted with permission from A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949.

¹⁹ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 117.

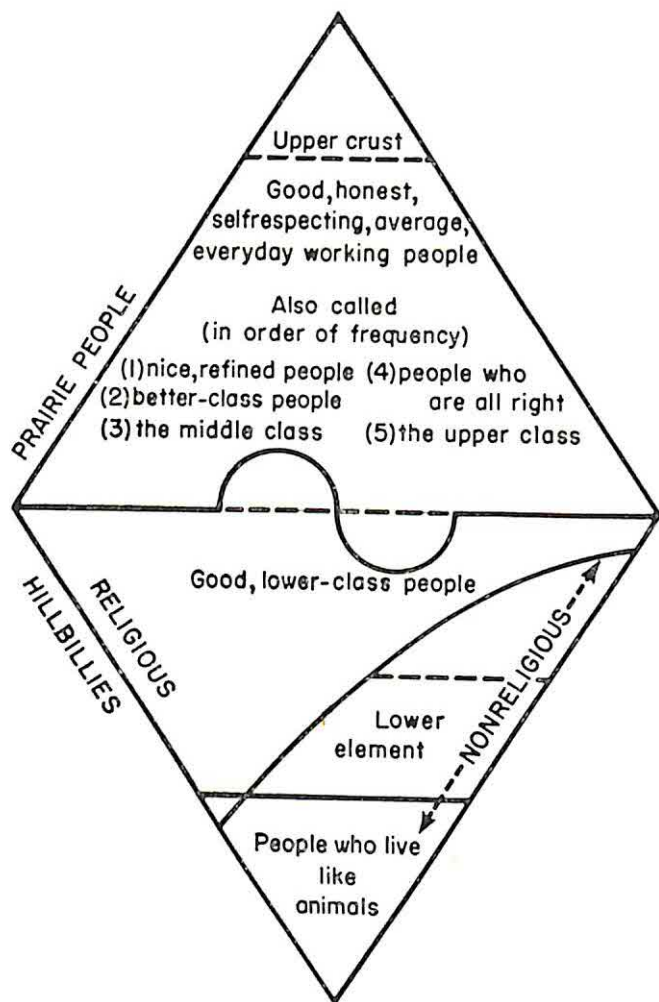


FIGURE 1. Plainville Social Classes. (From James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 117.)

divide themselves into two groups: those with high status and those without it. Some gradations exist within these large limits. At the top of the social ladder are old families of good economic substance. Below them are newcomers who have considerable property but have not been completely accepted by the old families. The lower class is made up of transient farm tenants, farm laborers, and a few poor farm families of longer residence who are regarded with a certain toleration by the older families.

There have been numerous reports on the class system of urban communities. We shall include as illustrative Yankee City and Brastown.

One of the most detailed pieces of research on class was a pioneer study by W. Lloyd Warner and associates in Yankee City. Warner defines a social class system as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by members of the community, in socially superior or inferior positions." In his method of determining class, people are ranked by members of the community themselves on the basis of such factors as source of income, occupation, place of residence, length of residence, home ownership, family descent, and clique membership. The members of a given class have common attributes and interests. They tend to associate with their own class, and to share marital, economic, and other opportunities with one another.

In Yankee City, a New England city of 17,000 population, Warner and Lunt identify six classes. They divide the commonly recognized upper, middle, and lower classes into their respective upper and lower sections. This division yields upper upper, lower upper, upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, and lower lower classes.

The upper upper group consist of "old families" who pride themselves on their aristocratic lineage. They live in highly restricted residential areas in large expensive houses with well-kept grounds. Their furnishings are antiques that have been handed down over the years. They tend to think that birth and breeding are the true marks of social standing. They are either professional people or proprietors of the larger business and industrial enterprises. They make up about 1.4 percent of the population of Yankee City.

The lower upper group also reside in the same kind of neighborhood, but their houses have been purchased recently and their antiques are "boughten." They are socially new and not completely accepted by those who "really count." They imitate closely the behavior of the upper uppers. Vocationally they occupy the top brackets. In Yankee City they comprise 1.6 percent of the population.

The upper middle class are good and respectable people, but they are not fully admitted to the "inner circle" of the upper class. They live in smaller houses in new neighborhoods. They are active in community work and are often voted to positions of leadership. They include 10 percent of the people in Yankee City.

The lower middle are the top crust of the lower half of society and are so regarded by "those beneath them, by those above them and by themselves." The upper groups usually speak of them as "good, substantial people, eager to get ahead." They live in small houses. They are often employed in retail stores and in factories. They are often members of fraternal and auxiliary organizations. They account for 28.4 percent of the people in Yankee City.

The upper lower group have small houses. They are semiskilled workers. They are trying to break into the middle group. They make up about one-third of the population of Yankee City.

The lower lower group are at the bottom of the social scale. They live in poor houses, often tar-paper shacks "on the other side of the tracks." They are unskilled workers. They have more children than the other groups. The lower lowers constitute 26 percent of the population of Yankee City.

Another exploration of class was made by Stendler in Brasstown, an industrial town of 15,000 inhabitants, most of whom make their living in the factories.

Stendler describes Brasstown as a place in which the class system is "tacitly accepted but never openly acknowledged by its residents." She identifies four classes. We present her word pictures of families thought by Brasstowners to be typical of each class.

The Rockwells typify the small, exclusive upper class.

They were "old family"; in their day they had given much to the town. A bridge, the town hall, the public library, all were memorials to members of Brasstown's first family. Renoirs in the Rockwells' possession were loaned to the Metropolitan Museum in New York upon occasion. They were not the richest family in the town, but they were able to maintain a residence in Brasstown and one in quiet, secluded Long Acres, whose upper class claimed them as members. The Rockwells and others like them had little communication with Brasstown society; their wives held themselves aloof from the women's clubs, and their children did not attend the public schools.²⁰

For the middle class, descriptions of two groups of families are given. The first group represents the upper middle class which includes a professional, managerial, or large business group.

²⁰ Celia Burns Stendler, *Children of Brasstown*, University of Illinois Press, 1949, p. 21.

The McDowells were described as good, comfortable, salt-of-the-earth kind of people, staunch church members. He was president of the local bank, but the family lived simply and unassumingly, although in the best section of town. The Pebles and the Loomises, on the other hand, were considered to be "flashy." Each had started a little plant or business of his own on a shoestring in the twenties and exemplified the typical American success story of moving up the ladder, making good through cheap labor and poor working conditions. These were the people who built the big houses, who had the big cars with license plates spelling out their initials, whose socially ambitious wives were the club-women of the town. Then there were the Campbells, men with doctorate degrees in chemistry, who were in high managerial positions in the local factories. These men were comparative newcomers in town, but by adopting the symbols of the upper-middle class they were able to assume their places in it.²¹

The lower middle class is made up of the white-collar group—clerks, schoolteachers, small proprietors, and skilled craftsmen. They are generally thought of as "good, self-respecting, honest Americans who recognize the importance of trying to get ahead. 'Like the Barnetts; they're a good example. A nice little family. She was a Rogers from Rockville before she was married—studied music. He's a steamfitter up at Eastern Foundry, belongs to the Elks. They have a nice little home up on Pine Street Extension.'"²²

The working class is made up mainly of operators on conveyors, foreigners, and any large group of industrial workers recently imported from other communities. They are "all right" but "ordinary." The Strieskis are typical. "They're dull, stolid, thrifty Poles who've saved enough to buy a little house up on Grosvenor Street. They're ordinary people—they both work on conveyors down in the Brass shop—both rather ignorant, but they want their kids to get along, and they're raising them to be good Americans."²³

The working class has a "lower fringe":

Some of its members were "queer" couples who lived on the outskirts of town in unions which had failed to be blessed by church or state, raising broods of "queer" children. Moral or cultural reasons also helped to decide membership. If one drank too much and was also poor, had

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

a dirty home and no "standards" one was in "the lower fringe." If one "ran around with the niggers" or was a recently arrived "Porkchop" (Portuguese), chances were one would be assigned a place at the bottom of the scale. "Take the O'Shaughnesseys, for example. They live in the Clusters—a rough, tough, and hard-boiled lot. Father works down at the Chemical plant—makes about \$50 a week with overtime, but drinks it all up. He was arrested a couple of times for being a Peeping Tom."²⁴

An investigation carried on in the South gives insight into the class society of whites in a southern town.

As one becomes acquainted with the white people of Old City, he soon realizes that they are continually classifying themselves and others. There are "Negroes" and "whites"—the caste groups—a relatively simple dichotomy. There are also "leading families," "fine old families," "the four hundred," "the society crowd," "plain people," "nice, respectable people," "good people, but nobody," "po' whites," "red necks," etc.—all terms used to refer to different groups within the white caste. Not only do the whites frequently refer to these subdivisions within their own caste group, but they do so in such a manner as to indicate that they think in terms of a social hierarchy with some people at the "top," some at the "bottom"; with some people "equal" to themselves, and others "above" or "below" them. There are recurrent expressions such as: "He isn't our social equal," "She isn't our kind," "They are just nobody," "Those folks are the way-high-ups," "They're nothing but white trash!," "Oh, they're plain people like us." These expressions refer not only to individuals but also to groups, so that one may speak of superordinate and subordinate groups within the white society. And, most important of all, people tend to act in conformity with these conceptions of their "place" and the social position of others in the society.

When the individuals and groups so designated are studied, striking differences between them with regard to family relations, recreational behavior, standards of living, occupation and income, education, and other traits are immediately apparent. On the basis of these differences, it is possible to define the social classes within the white society and to describe them in detail. It was soon evident that people at all levels were thinking in terms of, and often referring to, three broad social classes—"upper," "middle," and "lower"—although, when designating particular individuals, there were divergences of opinion as to their social position. There was some difference of opinion, too, as to the things

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

that made one upper, middle, or lower; but an analysis of the relative social positions of the informants showed that these variations in conceptions of class status were, themselves, related to the social position of the informant. Thus, a "po' white," as defined by persons of the higher classes, conceived of the total structure in a somewhat different manner from an upper-class planter. In other words, the social perspective varied with the social position of the individual. People in the same social positions agreed, in the main, however, on the traits which characterized the classes, although the class traits did not apply to everyone within a class in absolute fashion. Thus, a member of a group defined by consensus as "superior" might have a few characteristics in common with a person of an "inferior" group; but when each group was considered as a whole, the differences were large and significant. Thus, "the society crowd," as a group, owns more property than the "po' whites," although some "society folks" own none at all; the "poor, but respectable" people, in the aggregate, are more church-minded than "trash," though some are not affiliated with churches.²⁵

The various studies indicate that in the United States class affects all aspects of the lives of the people. It determines associates, living quarters, club memberships, churchgoing habits, movies, reading material. Hollingshead believes that "this class system is far more vital as a social force in our society than the American Creed."²⁶ He considers it so significant that he gives this admonition: "Those aspects of the culture which foster and perpetuate the class system over against the ideals of official America, embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, will have to be changed, if there has to be change, before Americans will face in practice the ideals they profess in theory."²⁷

Class touches the lives of children as well as those of adults. Children are aware of the symbols of class. They recognize the position of themselves and their acquaintances on the social scale. They pattern their behavior and beliefs after the behavior and beliefs of members of their own social class. Their choice of friends and their leisure activities reveal class differences.

In *Children of Brasstown* Stendler shows how children's aware-

²⁵ Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, University of Chicago Press, 1941.

²⁶ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 452.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

ness of social class position is reflected in their choice of friends. Marshall, for example, has little part in the social life of his peers because his family is beyond the pale. To quote:

The lower-class child who epitomizes lower-classness does not always stand out to the casual observer. There was Marshall in the first grade; he was an attractive little towhead, dressed neatly in coveralls and sport shirt, looking no different from the rest of his schoolmates, yet he was frequently named as one whose clothes needed mending. His teacher considered him gentle and mild-mannered, yet his peers chose him as the child who did the most fighting and swearing, and who did not have very nice manners. He was not one of the brightest children in the room, but neither was he the dullest. He lived in Hopeville, but so did several other children, and only one first grader knew this was a poor section of town. From all reports, he had no serious personality maladjustment. Then why Marshall? There were certain things about his family that were uncovered in the course of this study: they lived on a farm, something that was undesirable in many Brasstown's eyes; they didn't have much income; and they had too many children coming too closely, by Brasstown's standards. Marshall didn't "act right" when he first came to school; his lunch box was different and so were his table manners. He was branded early in his school career, and he will continue to be branded unless something is done to help.²⁸

At school, in matters other than choice of friends, social stratification has many ramifications. School board members and teachers are drawn chiefly from the middle class. Consciously or unconsciously schools, under middle-class leadership, tend to foster middle-class values.

Children from middle-class homes with values similar to those stressed at school are likely to get along with less friction than children of the lower class. Middle-class children have manners, habits, and attitudes that teachers share and try to inculcate. Lower-class children encounter a conflict of values. Behavior that wins approval at school brings disapproval at home.

In *Father of the Man*, case studies of the two Washington children portray the clash in values. Mary, who is quiet and anxious to please, wins praise from her middle-class teacher, and criticism from her lower-class family who regard her as a schemer and an apple

²⁸ Stendler, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.

polisher. On the other hand, Paulette, who is aggressive and inclined to "tell people off" and let them "like it or lump it," is admired by her family for her "honesty."

Reevaluation of our teaching of values may result in a program that stands a chance of acceptance by lower-class children. Havighurst and Taba recommend that "they [boys and girls] should learn to make distinctions between the lesser mores of eating, drinking, amusement, clothing, and marriage customs, which differ from one social group to another, and the more basic moral qualities, such as honesty, loyalty, kindness, and courage, which are very nearly universal." At present the lesser mores often receive greater emphasis than the basic qualities.

In a variety of ways schools may show unconscious bias toward lower-class children. Intelligence tests contain items that are readily recognizable by children of the upper classes but are unknown to children of the lower class. Davis found that 81 percent of the children in the upper socioeconomic groups and only 52 percent of the lower socioeconomic children answered this question correctly: A symphony is to a composer as a book is to what? () paper () sculptor () author () musician () man.

When the question was changed to read: A baker goes with bread, the same way that a carpenter goes with what? () a saw () a house () a spoon () a nail () a man, 50 percent of both groups answered correctly. Bread and homes are part of the common life of both groups, whereas symphonies and books are not part of the poorer child's life.

The curriculum, particularly in the lower grades, probably favors children of the upper classes. It is highly verbalistic and deals with ideas and experiences often remote from the lives of lower-class children. Possibly the same criticism holds throughout the school system. It may help account for the fact that children from the upper groups often receive better grades than those from the lower groups. In *Elmtown's Youth* Hollingshead states that "... it is clear that, on the average, the higher an adolescent's class position, the better his chances are to receive high grades. Conversely, the lower one's position in the prestige structure, the more likely the adolescent is to receive low grades."²⁹

²⁹ Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

Teachers occasionally show bias in their treatment of children. They may identify children with the social level of their parents and treat them accordingly. Some take a superior attitude toward lower-class families, while others have a sneering attitude toward wealthy and socially prominent families. In discipline some teachers favor children from middle- and upper-class homes. A startling account of how a superintendent of schools and a high-school principal excuse upper-class youngsters who evade staying after school for being late but punish a lower-class student is contained in *Elmtown's Youth*.

When school was out that afternoon, the Superintendent stood in the hall near the side exit, Mr. White, a teacher, watched the front door, while the principal patrolled the building. Mr. Gardner, another teacher, was in the detention room. After the building was cleared of students and most of the teachers had gone home, the Superintendent walked back to his office, but the principal stood outside the front door. Suddenly the door was thrown open from the outside, and angry voices were heard. The Superintendent rushed out of his office and stood at the head of the stairs. The principal pushed and shoved "Boney" up the stairs as he repeated, "You can't get away with that stuff." As they neared the top, "Boney" broke from his grasp and started down the hall toward the side door. The Superintendent blocked his path, and "Boney" ran upstairs. The principal leaped and grabbed him by the coat collar with his left hand. "Boney" turned and started to fight. The principal spun him around, seized the visor of his cap with his right hand and yanked it down over his eyes. While "Boney" was fighting to get the cap off his face, the principal hit him three times with the heel of his hand on the back of the neck near the base of the skull. "Boney" cursed, struggled, and hit in all directions. Soon he broke free and ran toward the Superintendent, who shook and slapped him three or four times. Both men then grabbed him by the arms and shook him vigorously. The Superintendent angrily screeched, "You're going out of this building. You're never coming back until you bring your father and we talk this over." By this time, the three had reached the front door. "Boney" was shoved outside. He stood there, cursing and threatening both men with violence. In a few minutes he composed himself, straightened his clothes, and walked away, muttering to himself.³⁰

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

In guidance, teachers have a tendency to direct the lower-class child into a vocational curriculum. Thus, either knowingly or unknowingly, teachers decide which children are not socially mobile and advise them with regard to selection of curriculum in such a way that social mobility is difficult if not impossible.

That students sense a prestige bias in different courses is brought out by this statement of a senior girl in *Elmtown's Youth*:

If you take a college preparatory course, you're better than those who take a general course. Those who take a general course are neither here nor there. If you take a commercial course, you don't rate. It's a funny thing, those who take college preparatory set themselves up as better than the other kids. Those that take the college preparatory course run the place. I remember when I was a freshman, mother wanted me to take home economics, but I didn't want to. I knew I couldn't rate. You could take typing and shorthand and still rate, but if you took a straight commercial course, you couldn't rate. You see, you're rated by the teachers according to the course you take. They rate you in the first 6 weeks. The teachers type you in a small school and you're made in classes before you get there. College preparatory kids get good grades and the others take what's left. The teachers get together and talk, and if you are not in college preparatory you haven't got a chance.³¹

Class is related to whether or not a child continues in school. According to Howard M. Bell, "The strongest single factor in determining how far a youth goes in his school is the occupation of his father." Among 13,528 young people in Maryland, only one out of every thirteen children of fathers engaged in the professions failed to go beyond the eighth grade, but two out of three whose fathers were unskilled laborers and seven out of eight whose fathers were farm laborers failed to exceed the same level.

For children from families in the lower-income groups the cost of attending secondary school is prohibitive. During the depression, when a fourth of all American families had incomes ranging from zero to \$750 per year, and when more than an additional third had incomes ranging no higher than \$1500 per year, the average cost, per pupil, of attending high school, excluding food, clothing, shelter, and transportation, was \$125 per year.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

There is a striking relationship between family income and educational opportunity. For example, a study of 1023 students with I.Q.'s of 117 or above who graduated from Milwaukee high schools in 1937 and 1938 found that in families with an income of \$8000 or above 100 percent of these students went to college, while in families with incomes under \$500 only one in five of these students went to college.

Aside from the economic factor, class contributes in other ways to high drop-out among children from lower-class homes. In the first place, pupils find their studies uninteresting. Since they cannot relate them to their life needs, they often do unsatisfactory work and choose to leave a situation in which they meet failure rather than success.

In the second place, children from lower-class families often have little opportunity to take part in extracurricular activities. In thirteen Illinois high schools with enrollments ranging from 81 to 2683, well-to-do pupils participated in proportions one-third in excess of their relative number in the student body population. Poorer children participated in proportions about 40 percent smaller than their relative numbers indicate should have been the case. Furthermore, positions of leadership were held by pupils from families with greater incomes.

Lack of participation by children from lower socioeconomic families may be explained in a variety of ways. First, they do not have the money necessary for engaging in activities. Second, they may have part-time employment that conflicts with the activity schedule. Third, they may not be accepted by their peers. Warner points out that pupils "learn to like being with people of their own class or higher and to dislike being with people of lower classes especially if the social distance is great." As one Class IV girl of Elmtown said, "Well, why go? We're made to feel out of place and that's the way it is."

Similarly, among youth in Corinth, Mississippi, discrimination against lower-class children was indicated in the extraclass life of the school.

Corinth's social lines, always drawn tightly between a small nucleus of "good families—mostly with money and position"—and a larger group

of store and mill workers (with farm people forming their own group outside of town), have eased considerably since the war. "A few years ago you couldn't have got a job on the school paper if you came from the wrong lineage," one teacher said. And while children of the town's leading families, the "North Enders," are still elected to "as many school jobs as they want" because the voting, taken by a public show of hands in the auditorium, makes other boys and girls fearful of supporting some one else ("You may not want those kids to be elected, but you don't want to be seen voting against them either"), the girl who runs the Dramatic Club is a newcomer to town, the associate editor of the school paper lives out on the main highway.³²

In the third place, children from lower-class families often drop out because their parents do not expect or encourage them to continue in school. Havighurst estimates that "at least half of the children of lower and lower-middle class families who have the ability to succeed in college do not have the desire or the motivation to go to college."

FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Through his family a child is born into a certain geographical, racial, ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic group. The pattern of family life, which is part of the larger culture system of society, differs markedly in these various groups. For a child of a head-hunter in Borneo and a child of a first family among "The Proper Bostonians," the cultural patterns are very unlike. Contrasts in the family culture of Chinese and Americans have been succinctly summarized by a Chinese scholar; his comparison is given in Table 2.

Almost as dissimilar as the culture of Chinese and Americans is the culture of children of different classes in the United States. The child of a New York socialite learns patterns of conduct and thought foreign to a child of Okies.

In the home a young child is rapidly subjected to standards and values that hold sway in his group.

He meets American law first in the warning note of his mother's voice: "Stop digging, here comes a cop." He meets American economics when he finds his mother unimpressed by his offer to buy another copy of the

³² "Profile of Youth: Maxine Wallace," *Ladies' Home Journal*, January, 1950, p. 122.

TABLE 2. A Comparison of Chinese and American Family Traits³³
(After Liu Chiang)

China	U.S.A.
1. Parents stay with children after the latter get married.	1. Young married people leave the home of their parents.
2. Parents continue to work together with their married children.	2. Parents and children often pursue different occupations, before and after the latter are married.
3. The family is supreme.	3. The individual is supreme.
4. Houses are built to accommodate as many as three hundred members, including the larger family.	4. Houses are small, built to accommodate childless couples or small families.
5. Children are reared for the benefit of parents and are ready to sacrifice their lives for their parents.	5. Parents live for their children and make sacrifices for them.
6. When parents get old, the children must support them.	6. There is no obligation, and often there is refusal on the part of children, to support aged parents.
7. Lack of offspring to continue ancestral line is a sin, if not a crime.	7. Many families are childless.
8. To seek revenge for the death of one's father by murder is considered a filial obligation.	8. Revenge for father's death by murder would lead to grave punishment.
9. Parental authority is supreme. Fathers have right to sell or kill their children.	9. Parental authority is limited. Selling and killing are prohibited on the grounds that the child belongs to the state.
10. Father is personally summoned to court for misdemeanor of child up to sixteen.	10. Children's offenses are tried in juvenile courts.
11. Mates are selected for children by parents on basis of rank, wealth, etc. Even under polygyny, after marriage the son is obliged to "love" his parents' favorite, and neglect the others.	11. Young people select their own mates, even against parental wishes, after they are eighteen.
12. All kinsmen are responsible for the crime of one. Often the population of a district for four miles around is exterminated for the murder of an official. Kinsmen of a rebel for nine generations were once massacred by an emperor under an old dynasty.	12. Individuals are held responsible strictly for their own acts. Kin or neighbors are not involved in an individual's crime.
13. Sexes are strictly separated. Man and woman, even brother-in-law and sister-in-law, may not touch each other's hands. From the age of seven, boys and girls take meals at different tables.	13. Men and women associate freely, eat together, work together, go out together, have mixed parties.

³³ Maurice Krout, *Social Psychology*, Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 280-281; adapted by Krout from Liu Chiang in *Journal of Applied Sociology*, vol. 10, 1925, pp. 243-248.

TABLE 2. (Continued)

China	U.S.A.
14. "Woman without education is virtuous." Education is disapproved because woman belongs to others after marriage and might become too cunning.	14. Women get all college degrees, except D.D. and LL.D. ^a In fact, more girls than boys go to high school. Woman's function as "educator of the next generation" makes her education necessary.
15. Woman's participation in government is feared. Only because of "filial piety" did the Chinese permit a queen mother or empress dowager to rule.	15. Woman has fought and won the suffrage. Women have been elected to Congress and Senate, mayor's office, and judgeships.
16. A woman when married could not inherit property from her parents. She could have only her dowry.	16. A woman may inherit her property from parents, even though married.
17. Children on the daughter's side are not regarded as heirs. They could not offer sacrifices to ancestors.	17. The children on the daughter's side also count as children.
18. Woman is a means to an end. She is married to give her husband male offspring.	18. Woman is an end in herself. Marriage aims at happiness or at least satisfaction of sexual emotion. Husband and wife strive to please each other.

^a That women in our culture get these degrees as well has apparently been overlooked by Liu Chiang.

wedding gift he has just smashed: "At the 5 and 10 cent store, can't we?" His first encounter with puritan standards may come through his mother's "If you don't eat your vegetables you can't have any dessert." He learns the paramount importance of distinguishing between vice and virtue; that it is only a matter of which comes first, the pleasure or the pain. All his great lessons come through his mother's voice, through his father's laughter, or the tilt of his father's cigar when a business deal goes right. Just as one way of understanding a machine is to understand how it is made, so one way of understanding the typical character structure of a culture is to follow step by step the way in which it is built into the growing child.³⁴

For children in various social classes methods of child training differ. Ericson found significant differences in child-rearing practices in middle-class and lower-class families. Forty-eight mothers in the middle-class group were interviewed. There were 107 children in this sample. In the lower-class group, 52 mothers were interviewed. There were 167 children in this group. The general areas

³⁴ Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1943, p. 38.

explored by Ericson were weaning, thumbsucking, cleanliness, training, environmental exploration and control, and age and sex roles. She summarized her findings as follows:

In the middle-class families there is more emphasis on the early achievement of learnings in the crucial areas, although the data show that even though the training is begun earlier, it is not necessarily achieved any earlier. Middle-class children are probably subjected to more frustrations in the process of achieving these learnings and are probably more anxious as a result of these pressures than are the lower-class children. Lower-class families tend to be more permissive than the middle-class families in the training of their children in all areas.

Children in the middle-class families are taught to assume responsibility early. Middle-class children are more carefully supervised in their activities than are the lower-class children. Middle-class children have many fewer unsupervised play activities and less free time than do the lower-class children. Middle-class life is in general more demanding with reference to all learning areas. The children are taught to respond to the demands of the social group in which they live. The early assumption of responsibility on the part of the middle-class children was not what we had expected; we had anticipated that lower-class parents would expect the early achievement for their children in assuming responsibility in the home. Apparently the middle-class children are taught this task by the parents relatively early while the lower-class children are not taught this task until the learning is relatively easy for them.

Middle-class children are taught ways of living that will prepare them to become financially independent, to assume positions of responsibility in the home and community, and to become responsible citizens of the culture in which they live.

The lower-class children are reared in families in which life is less strictly organized, and fewer demands are made upon them. They probably do not meet as many frustrations as do the middle-class children. The demands of the social group in lower-class life are not as exacting as they are in middle-class life.

From the standpoint of sociology, this investigation bears out the general theory that membership in a social class is an important influence on personality development and that there are numerous significant differences in social class groups with reference to child-rearing practices.³⁵

³⁵ Martha C. Ericson, "Social Status and Child-Rearing Practices," in Theodore M. Newcomb, Eugene L. Hartley, and others (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, Henry Holt and Company, 1947, pp. 500-501.

Demands of the culture vary not only for children in different social classes, but also for rural and city children. Lois Barclay Murphy presents vividly some "hazards of civilization for children." While country children are allowed to grow up as naturally as lambs and wheat, city children are watched carefully for motor development, vocabulary, and other indices of growth or indications of superiority. Individual differences may be taken for granted in a rural family, but in more sophisticated groups a child is expected to be "well adjusted" to a variety of groups and situations. A rural child has opportunity for free play, whereas a city child may be kept longer in his play pen. "The rural child usually may dig tunnels, fill holes with water if he likes, make mud pies and fill his wagon with junk, rocks, dirt, or leaves, perhaps even really helping in the fall or spring; whereas the city child and many suburban children whose families cherish a House Beautiful atmosphere may have no place where they can dig and explore and just mess around."³⁶ A small-town child may have a gang of three or four in his own neighborhood with whom he becomes acquainted gradually. A city child may have no playmates until he encounters a confusing group of ten to twenty children in nursery school. A country child learns self-control from his own observation and experience. He can see for himself that because he leaves the gate open his pet turkey wanders onto the road and gets run over. A city child is confronted by numerous admonitions of "No" and "Don't touch" which seem to him unreasonable.

"For the city child who has been greatly stimulated by parents who greet each new evidence of motor achievement—sitting up, standing up, and finally walking—with cheers, restrictions on the use of the abilities which have received so much appreciation are unexpectedly frustrating. It is no wonder that the stimulated-frustrated child suddenly becomes a brat after his first year and a half of cherubic smiles."³⁷

Through his family a child not only learns a pattern of living but also acquires a place in the larger cultural configuration. He receives a name and a social position. His family name may be an

³⁶ Lois Barclay Murphy, "Hazards of Civilization for Children," *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, Spring, 1949, p. 144.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

asset or a handicap. If it is a handicap, he sometimes resorts to the courts to secure a new name. Amory relates how persons have attempted to take names of leading Boston families.

In view of all their privileges it is not surprising that Boston's First Families have, on occasion, been forced to do battle for their birthright. There have been instances in which this struggle has been carried to court—when ordinary Bostonians have seen fit to become Proper Bostonians by the simple procedure of having their names changed, and have faced not only a judge but the irate Family itself. In contrast to trust cases, however, which seem to have been concluded with monotonous regularity in favor of First Families, court decisions in these name cases have gone both ways. A man who wanted to become an Amory was refused permission when a sizeable proportion of the members of that small but gamely vigilant Family appeared in court to register protest. In another case, five members of a family named Hogan—one of whom, a stenographer, gave as her reason that she was "in pursuit of happiness"—were unsuccessful in asking to have their name changed to a hyphenated name ending with Homans. They had found, arrayed in court against them, not only Boston Homanses but also a representative of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Surprisingly enough, the reverse decisions—those allowing name changes—seem to be on the record against the most prominent Boston Families of all, including Adamses, Appletons, and even Cabots. One Cabot case stands out above others as a classic of Boston Society. In this the judge allowed the plaintiff, a man named Kabotznick, to assume the honored name, apparently not foreseeing that his decision was also going to work a hardship on the Lowells. He was shortly reminded of this fact by an anonymous newspaper poet. Re-wording Boston's social folk song, the poet wrote:

And this is good old Boston,
The home of the bean and the cod,
Where the Lowells have no one to talk to,
'Cause the Cabots talk Yiddish, by God!³⁸

SUMMARY

In comparison with the young of other animals, a newborn infant is immature and helpless. However, his capacity for learning enables him eventually to outstrip lower animals. Since man is a

³⁸ Cleveland Amory, *The Proper Bostonians*, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947, pp. 34-35.

biological organism, his achievements and behavior depend not only upon his native abilities and structures but also upon his environment. If he is to survive, his physiological needs must be met. If he is to acquire distinctively human traits, he must associate with other human beings. Differences in behavior and personality result largely from environmental factors. Traits such as masculinity and femininity and coöperation and competition that are commonly regarded as "native" appear to be "learned." Through social inheritance or culture the individual takes on the ways of his group. Although certain things are considered important in every culture, variations in national, regional, class, and family cultures exert their influence on the individual.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Evaluate Barzun's statement: "The reason teaching has to go on is that children are not born human; they are made so."
2. Explain outstanding features of American culture to a native of Japan.
3. What light does study of primitive cultures throw on our own culture?
4. Show how early environmental influences tend to differentiate social attitudes of boys and girls.
5. What bearing do differences in social expectations for boys and girls have upon the kind of education they should receive? Do you agree with Pearl Buck that "from the first day to the last of formal schooling men and women should be taught exactly the same things by the same persons"?
6. Mention a contemporary social problem which has arisen because of differences in regional cultures in the United States.
7. List ways in which differences in class culture affected students in the high school which you attended.
8. How do differences in cultures lead to misunderstandings among nations? How can these sources of conflict be minimized?
9. Why is it difficult to distinguish between learned and unlearned tendencies? Is it easier to carry on experiments to ascertain which tendencies are unlearned in lower animals than to carry on such experiments with human beings?
10. Are differences between savage and civilized man due mainly to differences in original nature?

CHAPTER II

Educative Influences

EDUCATION IN some form is probably as old as the world. Some authors think that it may even antedate *Homo sapiens*. Be that as it may, every group deems its patterns of conduct for regulating and organizing its life so important that it has an educational process to insure their inculcation.

Methods of inducting the young into their cultural heritage differ. "In undeveloped social groups," says Dewey, "we find little formal teaching and training." Children learn informally from imitating their elders. Their playthings are likenesses of implements and their games are imitations of activities of adult life.

As children grow older, they share in the occupation of adults, thus serving a kind of apprenticeship. Probably the offspring of paleolithic man learned to hunt and fish, to fashion roughly shaped flints, to manipulate bow and arrow, and to use fire. Such learning came not from intentional training but from the overriding necessity of participating in essential pursuits.

Eventually primitive man began with forethought to pass on to his offspring certain ways of propitiating the invisible powers that controlled the world. Becoming aware of surrounding forces, such as lightning, darkness, and disease, that not only interfered with his happiness but also baffled his understanding, he attributed to these inanimate things and forces a soul or "double" similar to his own. For him every object possessed a spiritual life that played a peculiar role in his mystic world and had a meaning quite different from what it has for modern man.

This mystic belief stimulated the first deliberate efforts to educate the tribal young. Adults tried to indoctrinate them in the best ways of placating spirits, through incantations, prayers, and offerings that had been reported successful by earlier generations. To keep these

ceremonial traditions alive was the major purpose of formal primitive education.

That this phase of education was thought to be of great importance, seems clear in light of the practices of nature peoples. Since it dealt with the occult, the mysterious, the intricate, the invisible, it was but natural that only the old men, wizards, shamans, or others who had profited by long experience or by special study of such things, were competent to direct it. Ultimately a special class arose which gave attention to such matters. Such a class, a priesthood, passed judgment on what was proper for their people to know, and elaborated its own body of beliefs about the invisible and the methods of controlling it. This class possessed more leisure for reflection and probably greater powers of reflection and intuition. Systematic use of their leisure produced an accumulation of esoteric wisdom, first preserved by oral tradition, later in written form.

Just as the character of the knowledge determined that only the experienced and expert could possess and impart it, so also it was a factor in fixing the occasion when instruction should be given. Wise men could not be ever at hand to inform the uninitiated; neither were the uninitiated always ready to be instructed. Hence, presumably, arose the practice of having ceremonial occasions when youths of an impressionable age were brought together in small groups to be acquainted with tribal taboos, secrets—things so sacred often as not to bear repetition.

This formal education which sought to impress tribal notions upon each generation was imparted chiefly through totemistic and initiatory ceremonies. Rites pertaining to the tribal totem were important to primitive peoples, since they regarded all things, phenomena, plants, animals, and men as kin.¹

An idea of the significance of initiatory ceremonies may be gained from a description of certain of them among the Arunta:

Every native must pass through elaborate ceremonies before becoming a full-fledged member of a tribe. Though they vary as to details the rites have much in common and serve similar purposes. Among the Arunta there are four great ceremonials, beginning about ten or twelve and extending, in some cases, until the mature age of thirty years. The first is called *Alkira-kiwuma* or "throwing up to the sky"; the second, *Lartna* or circumcision; the third, *Aritla* or subincision; and the fourth, *Engwura*, a ceremonial ordeal of fire. Before the first ceremony the boy is called

¹ Thomas Woody, *Life and Education in Early Societies*, 1949, p. 16. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

Ambaquerka; after it he is named *Ulpmerka*. During *Lartna* the initiate is known as *Wurtja*; after it he is *Arakurta*. When the next ceremony, *Arilta*, has been performed he becomes *Atua-kurka*; this he remains till after the fourth, *Engwura*, when he is recognized as *Urliara*.

The *Engwura*, the last of the initiatory rites, is made up of "series of ceremonies concerned with the totems," involving "tests both moral and physical," intended to strengthen and give "courage, wisdom, endurance and self-restraint" to those who go through them and make them more kindly and "less apt to quarrel." Naturally the rites have the effect also of causing the youth to look with greater awe and reverence upon the old men who are able to tell them so much and whom they are compelled to obey. The *Engwura* rituals vary considerably in the different totem groups which practice them. Some require only a day or two; another, the *Achilpa*, or wild-cat totem, demands four months. Spencer and Gillen report that every day of the four months was given over to a new ceremony or several of them, but that it was possible to recognize five distinct stages in the entire *Engwura*: the first, the dispatch of messengers, assembling of the people, and "dancing corroborces" participated in by men and women; the second, marked by the separation of men and women, and a performance of sacred ceremonies by the men on the specially laid-out *Engwura* ground, after which the initiates were known as *Illpong-worra*; third, the continuance of religious rites, during which the young men were forbidden to speak to certain of the elders; the fourth phase, marked by the ordeal of fire, after which initiates were given the name *Urliara*; and the fifth, in which men and women joined, when the initiates made an offering of meat to those with whom they had previously been forbidden to speak, the ban of silence was removed in a special ceremony, and the young men were recognized as full-fledged members of the tribe.²

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS

Except in connection with initiation ceremonies, primitive groups had no special devices or institutions for teaching. As Dewey observes, "To savages it would seem preposterous to seek out a place where nothing but learning was going on in order that one might learn." But with the advance of civilization and the invention of writing, informal education became more and more inadequate. Consequently the school was devised and a separate group of persons entrusted with the task of teaching.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES OTHER THAN THE SCHOOL

Despite the fact that the school has been devised as the intentional agency, it is by no means the only educative influence. Indeed it is an open question where a child receives the most education. All his experiences are grist for his mill of learning. William Allen White stated that he learned from home, barn, river, and school. After all, a child is at school only a relatively small proportion of his entire time. If he attends school 200 days a year for six hours a day, he is in school 1200 hours a year, or 13.6 percent of the time. If ten hours are allowed for sleep, he is in school only 23.5 percent of his waking hours. Hence, the home or some other agency has the child 76.5 percent of the time he is awake.

Among the many influences other than the school that affect children and youth, we shall discuss home, church, agencies of mass communication—press, motion pictures, radio, and television—youth-serving organizations, youth centers, children's camps, and the community.

HOME

The home deserves a top place among educative agencies. Here, if his surroundings are favorable and his parents sensible and understanding, a child lays a sound foundation for progress toward emotional and social maturity. He learns to direct his emotional energies into socially acceptable channels. He gains skill in living harmoniously with himself and others. Through tasks appropriate to his age he acquires independence and resourcefulness. He attends to his personal toilet, feeds himself, and takes care of his toys and other possessions. He has a host of first-hand experiences with articles of clothing, kitchen utensils, plants, animals, and myriad other things that make up home and community life. He learns to speak his native tongue. By the time he enters school his vocabulary consists of somewhere between 2000 and 2500 words. From moral and religious training he begins to set up principles of right and wrong and to formulate never-to-be-forgotten attitudes and ideals.

In the home the virtues of good citizenship are discovered. Children learn to live and work together in harmony and affection. They learn to apply democratic principles. Annie Laurie Peters

graphically presented this idea in a radio broadcast of Town Meeting of the Air.

When you married, you and John established a unit of government of which you were the self-constituted rulers. Your daughter and son, Nancy and Jack, became members by reason of birth; and since Americans can only thrive in a democracy, your home must be one.

Children in such a home say "our car," "our home," "our family," and unconsciously that unit expands to include "our school," "our town," and later still, "our state" and "our nation."

Possession entails responsibility, and joint possession develops fair-sharing, not only of luxuries, but of work, and of privations. Money may be the root of evil, but its intelligent sharing is the basis of peaceful family living. Nancy and Jack are small now to understand budget restrictions, but if they buy their ice cream with "our money" instead of "Dad's money," you will have poured some solid cement in the foundation of building a strong family.

Understanding of all situations is necessary. If John's salary is cut, tell the entire family about it, and explain how it may alter their scheme of living. The acceptance of responsibility develops the receiver. Lack of funds can be replaced or supplemented always by more generous giving by parents of their time—their talents.

Scattered over the face of these United States are thousands of young families—some packed in trailers, some in rows of quonset huts, some in tiny homes financed by GI loans, some wedged in rooms of other people's homes—all, Joy, like you and John, fighting high prices. Would that all of these thousands of parents would look into the clear eyes of their youngsters—for most of these homes do have children, no matter how crowded they are—and say to them, "Fellows, you're our equals, for you are made of us, and we are going to share our home with you as a democracy!"³

In pioneer days when the home was filled with "honest laborers and burdened with children" a youngster was "rich in lore of fields and brooks" and well versed in farm chores and household arts. He had experiences similar to those related by the distinguished scientist, Robert A. Millikan:

³ Annie Laurie Peters, "How Can We Strengthen the American Family?" *Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air*, May 29, 1947, pp. 11-12.

My father and mother brought up a family of six, three boys and three girls, on the small-town preacher's salary of \$1300 a year. We wore one-piece suits of blue jeans and no shoes from the close of school at the end of May until its beginning about September 10. Our yard contained about an acre of ground in which we raised potatoes, corn, melons, and all manner of garden truck, and in the winter we three boys sawed ten sticks of four-foot wood a day so long as our ten cords lasted. In vacation we were required to work in the garden in the mornings, but the afternoons we had free for our play.

Practically every afternoon for eight or ten years father collected his three boys and a dozen others from the neighborhood and accompanied us down thru the meadows and the woods to the river, where we swam, dived, played in the sand, rode down the river on logs, and shot the rapids thru a break in an old dam in the river. After we came back we played baseball, sheep fold, "anti over," or any one of a dozen games known to all boys.

We kept two cows of our own which I milked twice a day for six or seven years, and for some three years, in order to earn a little money, I tended a neighbor's horse and milked his cow. One of the finest of youthful experiences came when one of our farmer neighbors let us three Millikan boys break three of his colts for riding. The thrill of riding bareback on a racing horse is something never to be forgotten.

We often got up at three o'clock in the morning to see the circus come to town or to get down to the river to fish when the biting was best. We always spit on our bait for luck and did all the other things recounted in William Allen White's *Court of Boyville*. Each fall we gathered many sacks of hazel nuts and walnuts for our winter supply. As we grew older we rigged up in our barn a turning pole, parallel bars, and we invested in boxing gloves and dumbbells. I later earned most of my way thru college by acting as student gymnasium director, a job which I got simply because I had acquired some competence and the necessary muscles in our old barn, which was the rendezvous of all the neighborhood boys. I never had an absence in my four-year high-school course because the life we led kept me in good physical condition—this more than once included milking cows at 40 below zero, too. I was urged at one time to make physical education a life work and had the road all opened for it but I chose another field instead.⁴

As an educational agency, the twentieth-century home differs in many respects from its pioneer predecessor. Some of the changes

⁴ Robert A. Millikan, "Midwest Progressive Education in the Seventies," in American Association of School Administrators, *Official Report*, 1942, p. 117.

may be traced to the industrialization and urbanization of modern society. Over a period of years many economic functions have been taken from the family. Spinning, weaving, soap making, baking, canning, sewing, and laundering have been transferred from home to factory.

With the shift of occupations from home to factory, the economic importance of women in the home has been lessened. Labor-saving devices further reduce the time required for household tasks so that many women seek outside employment or activities. In 1950 about 28 percent of all women over fourteen were employed away from home.

Besides a lightening of household activities, there has also been a change in other functions of the family. Educational activities are provided by other institutions. The school may take a child at two or three years of age and provide many services that once were prerogatives of the home. Establishing smooth working coöperation with the school, rather than giving formal instruction, becomes a major task for the family.

Commercialized amusements and other outside recreational agencies make further inroads into family life. Movies, public playgrounds, swimming pools, and youth centers are but a few of the attractions that lure young people away from home for entertainment.

For many children, home influence is lessened by the instability of the modern family. Divorce continues to increase. The divorce rate in 1920 was 1.6 per 1000 population; in 1951 it was 2.4 per 1000 population. Large numbers of maladjusted children bear witness to the deleterious effects of broken homes.

Decrease in size of family also changes the character of the home. In a small family children have limited opportunities to acquire experience in human living together. An only child in particular may suffer from lack of association with other children.

However, not all the changes that have been mentioned necessarily weaken the effectiveness of the home. For example, release from household drudgery and decrease in size of family may mean that mothers can give more time to supervising and guiding their children and may rear them more satisfactorily than did the old-fashioned mothers whom we are wont to praise.

CHURCH

The church is another potent educational force. In 1953 churches of 230 different denominations in the United States included in their membership more than 81 million persons.

Since its origin the church has displayed a keen interest in education. In some of the darkest days of ancient and medieval times it encouraged learning and scholarship. Often, however, its concern was not so much with training children in literacy as with training adults in worship and ritual.

Even after schools were established, religious influence was prominent in them. Early colonial schools taught religion. Schoolmasters were required "to catechise their scholars in the principles of the Christian religion," and it was made "a chief part of the schoolmaster's religious care to commend his scholars and his labors amongst them unto God by prayer morning and evening, taking care that his scholars do reverently attend during the same." In early New England schools, reading of the Bible was essential. Many textbooks had a distinctly religious flavor. The *New England Primer*, published near the close of the seventeenth century, contained such material as the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and "An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth." The lesson in the opening couplet

In Adam's Fall
We sinned all

set the tone for somber verses that concluded with

Zaccheus he
Did climb the Tree
His Lord to see.

For a century and a half the *Primer* exerted tremendous influence. Truly, "it taught millions to read, and not one to sin."

With the separation of church and state religious teaching was dropped by public schools. However, provisions were often made to permit pupils to receive religious instruction under the supervision of the church at designated hours during the school week. One arrangement was the released-time plan. Pupils were excused from classes at a specified time to receive religious instruction usually given by representatives of their church either in the public-school

building or in the church. Pupils who did not wish to attend classes in religion remained in their home rooms or in study halls.

Another arrangement was the dismissed-time plan. Under this system all the children were dismissed at a given hour in order that parents, rather than school authorities, might cooperate with the church in maintaining classes in religious education.

Legality of the released-time plan was raised in a suit instituted by Mrs. McCollum of Champaign, Illinois. In an 8-to-1 decision on March 8, 1948, the United States Supreme Court ruled that the Champaign system of released-time religious instruction, conducted within the public-school buildings under public-school auspices, was a violation of the constitutional principle of separation of church and state declared in the First Amendment and made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth.

The McCollum decision has not ended controversy over the scope of the doctrine of separation of church and state. Certain aspects of the problem, such as legality of released-time instruction conducted outside public-school buildings, and the dismissed-time plan, remain to be settled.

Whatever religious instruction is received today, however, comes chiefly from home and church. The amount received at home depends on the parents. To quote Breckenridge and Vincent:

However, most modern families do little about formal spiritual training of children, tending to turn that responsibility over to the church if they give it any attention at all. Family worship is no longer widespread in current families. Many so-called "modern" families find themselves embarrassed and awkward at any mention of God or of cosmic or mystical forces. Fortunately for the development of the children in these homes, there is usually a well-defined and clearly practised "social philosophy" and a high sense of "ethics." This being true, the children gain in these homes fairly clear beginnings in ethical practices and fairly adequate social viewpoints. They do not, however, as a rule, have any help in the verbalization, and hence clarification, even of such principles as the parents themselves verbalize. They receive little or nothing of the inheritance of the racial tradition or mores, as represented in Bible stories or stories of Church saints. They are likely to grow up with the conception that there is no wisdom or strength in the universe beyond themselves, or, at least, beyond mankind. Many such people find themselves getting along quite smoothly until some crisis of life arises. It is in the

crises that most people find themselves in need of explanations of life and death, and of a Source of Strength beyond the human. They have none of the solutions for life crises which the race has accumulated and which it passes on through religious tradition. Lacking this, they have deficient strength with which to meet major life crises.⁵

The teaching of religious doctrine, therefore, becomes the responsibility of the church. Usually the church is handicapped by its dependence on voluntary workers who are unfamiliar with up-to-date teaching methods. Little wonder that children find Sunday school uninteresting and that they form distorted concepts. Murphy observed that children hear little about Jesus. If they do hear of him, it is "not as an ideal grown-up who helped people, but as a little baby whose mother put him in a straw thing in a barn instead of a crib, and to whom queer-looking men in striped gowns brought presents no baby could use. They learn, too, that there was a bad king, with a ferocious face, of whom the baby's mother was afraid, so that she had to take him a long way from home, riding on an animal that is not seen in the city, nor even in the zoo."

Even singing hymns results in striking misinterpretations. For years one Sunday-school pupil sang lustily "Fight in the corner where you are." Another puzzled his parents with

Jesus knows all about our troubles
He will wait till the pies are done.

Some churches employ educational directors who organize suitable programs and train volunteers to assist in working with young people. For example, in Seattle the University Congregational Church is participating in the Union College (Schenectady, New York) Character Research Project. The program is designed to build character through a combination of modern psychology and basic religious principles. So successful is the undertaking that the Sunday school has a long waiting list.

AGENCIES OF MASS COMMUNICATION

Agencies of mass communication are a potent educational force. For untold numbers of our population they transcend the school in

⁵ Marian E. Breckenridge and E. Lee Vincent, *Child Development: Physical and Psychological Growth Through the School Years*, W. B. Saunders Company, 1943, p. 205.

significance. We shall discuss the following agencies: the press, motion pictures, radio, and television.

THE PRESS

Newspapers. The twentieth century has witnessed amazing technological advances that give the press almost incredible range, variety, and speed of service. The steam-driven press of the nineteenth century has been followed by the high-speed rotary press, linotype machine, and photoengraving machinery.

Along with technological changes has come concentration of newspaper ownership in the hands of chains. "The newspaper business," said Mark Ethridge of the Louisville (Kentucky) *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, "has gone beyond the stage where the man with ideas or even brains can start a newspaper. He must have money." The number of dailies has decreased from its peak of 2600 in 1909 to 1773 in 1951. Concentration is shown even more vividly by the fact that, in 1947, 85 percent of all newsprint used in the United States was purchased by 200 big dailies. Eighty-one, or 40 percent, of these newspapers were operated by six chains. Only larger cities have competing dailies. News gathering is almost exclusively in the hands of three press associations, and features are supplied by syndicates.

The number of weekly newspapers has also decreased. The drop has been from about 16,000 in 1910 to 8892 in 1952.

The fact that many newspapers are owned by powerful individuals and groups makes it possible for them to spread one-sided propaganda. They may present only the point of view of their owners. In some cases they may follow the dictates of advertisers. Such domination is not widespread, however, and is more likely to occur among weak than financially strong units.

One of the most serious results of the disappearance of competing newspapers in many communities is the difficulty of securing local reforms if the only paper supports the local administration. Opportunities for publicizing opposing points of view are markedly decreased when one newspaper dominates an area.

Major trends in newspaper content are shown by decades from 1910 to 1940 in Table 3. The figures reveal marked increase in foreign news, Washington news, and financial news. Comic strips

and news illustrations are a new device for arousing reader interest. The *New York Times*, which did not publish news pictures until 1925, is still a standout against comics.

A study of trends in newspaper content is inadequate without consideration of the meaning of the word news. As is pointed out in *A Free and Responsible Press*: "The word 'news' has come to mean something different from important new information. When

TABLE 3. Average Number of Columns Given Certain Categories of Content in Each Issue in Ten Leading Metropolitan Newspapers at the Beginning of Four Decade Years, with Proportions in Decimals on the Base of Total Nonadvertising Space⁶

	1910		1920		1930		1940	
	Cols.	Prop.	Cols.	Prop.	Cols.	Prop.	Cols.	Prop.
Foreign news and features	2.4	0.031	6.2	0.088	6.8	0.048	14.0	0.079
Washington news	4.7	0.061	5.0	0.071	5.7	0.040	10.6	0.060
Columns dealing with public affairs			0.4	0.006	1.0	0.007	2.5	0.014
Original editorials	3.0	0.039	2.8	0.040	3.0	0.021	3.1	0.018
Business, financial, marine, etc.	16.0	0.211	11.4	0.160	53.2	0.375	56.6	0.320
Sports	7.1	0.094	10.4	0.146	18.2	0.128	20.9	0.118
Society	1.4	0.019	1.8	0.026	4.5	0.032	6.4	0.036
Women's interests	1.1	0.015	1.4	0.020	2.3	0.016	6.7	0.038
Theater, movies, books, art, etc.	2.2	0.029	2.2	0.031	4.4	0.033	7.4	0.042
Radio announcements and news					2.5	0.018	2.5	0.014
Comic strips and singles	0.8	0.010	2.0	0.028	5.1	0.036	10.8	0.061
Illustrations (excluding comics)	4.0	0.054	4.0	0.057	8.5	0.060	19.8	0.112

a journalist says that a certain event is news, he does not mean that it is important in itself. Often it is; but about as often it is not. The journalist means by news something that has happened within the last few hours which will attract the interest of the customers. The criteria of interest are recency or firstness, proximity, combat, human interest, and novelty. Such criteria limit accuracy and significance." Undue attention is given to crime, vice, and sex. In

⁶ Frank Luther Mott, "Trends in Newspaper Content," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1942, p. 61.

short, "the press emphasizes the exceptional rather than the representative, the sensational rather than the significant."

The amount of news reading increases with age, education, and economic status. Also the type of news read varies with these factors. Teen-agers, persons with grade-school education, and people in the lower economic groups are more likely to read crime and disaster news than any other type.

Whether or not more people would be interested in serious news if it were less ponderously written is an open question. Paul Scott Mowrer of the *Chicago Daily News* believes that, despite attempts at popularization, people not interested in the subject remain disinterested and those who are really interested resent oversimplification.

"Let us not deceive ourselves," says Mowrer. "Many experiments have been made, and it is now well established that newspapers devoted mainly to the fair and serious presentation of political, economic, scientific, and artistic events must be content to sell few copies. The big circulations go to the papers which give only a minimum of space to such news, and devote their pages primarily to photographs and brief articles having to do with crime, sex, sport, and cinema actors, with, by way of international interest, frequent chauvinistic attacks on foreign nations. . . ."

Surpassing news in popularity are comic strips. They are read by over half the adults and by two-thirds of all children over six. Daily and Sunday strips are read by 60 or 70 million people. For boys and girls the comics are the favorite section of the newspaper. In a study of 990 boys and 955 girls, Lazar found that comics were read by 80.1 percent of the boys, sports by 22.5, news by 6.8. Among the girls comics were read by 89.2 percent, news by 7.6; crossword puzzles were done by 5.5. In a survey of 2500 children in the fifth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades Brown found that in all grades comics head the list of newspaper reading for boys and girls.

The school has an inescapable responsibility for teaching pupils how to read a newspaper. Their glance at headlines and their perusal of comics and sport news can scarcely be considered reading. By consistent effort among the present school population we could guide their newspaper reading into more worth-while channels and give it breadth and depth. In the long run we could educate discriminating readers who would support newspapers of high caliber.

Comic Magazines. The popularity of comics in newspapers led to making comic strips available in magazine form. Success of the venture from a business standpoint is attested by the sale of 50 million or more comic magazines every month. Of the 70 million purchasers annually, 40 percent are children between the ages of eight and eighteen. Since children "swap" or resell their books, it is impossible to know the number of readers for each book. It has been estimated that 98 percent of all children between the ages of eight and eighteen read comics.

Although comics are referred to as "joke books" or "funnies," they are often not humorous. One writer describes the characters as "serious fellows, intent on dangerous adventure and noble deeds." Humor, if present, is likely to be of the slapstick variety.

The appeal of comics lies in their color and action. They are personal, concrete, and real. Action is easy to follow. Plot follows a stereotyped form. In the end "good triumphs over evil, virtue is its own reward, and evil-doers are undone by their own foul deeds."

Ralph Ojemann of the University of Iowa, who reported an analysis of 58 full-length comics, found that the chief plans were as follows:

(1) Plots predominantly for control of riches or of people—never for control over self.

(2) Physical force almost invariably used to solve problems, with no attempt to reach peaceful agreement with the enemy.

(3) Story climaxes that brought the extermination or complete isolation of the enemy showing no resulting character effects on the principals in the struggle.

(4) Heroes and heroines without physical blemish, but deformed villains.

In Cincinnati a committee set up by the Council of Churches evaluated 555 comic books. The committee found that their contents could be described as follows:

Adolescent characters such as bobby-soxers with dates—proms and the like—generally wholesome.

Animal characters with their appeal to small children: and these are nearly always harmless.

Adventure comics which include a good deal of wild west excitement—gun-toting and the like.

Classic comics which brief well-known stories with pictures and action.

Crime comics which include a large proportion of the comic books.

Jungle comics which play upon man's battle with beasts and reptiles, often showing women as the principal actors.

True comics which are generally based upon historical fact.

Wonder comics which deal with the mysterious or awe-inspiring.

Superman comics which portray the activities of characters that display superhuman strength or wisdom.

A rather large number of comic magazines too varied to classify.⁷

Opinion is divided as to quality of comics. The Cincinnati committee evaluated each of the 555 comic books in terms of its cultural, moral, and emotional tone and import. It adjudged 57.45 percent of these magazines as suitable for children and youth, and only 12.43 percent as "very objectionable." It felt that "wholesale condemnation of comic books is unwarranted."

The effect of reading comic books is a matter of controversy. Those who regard the books as harmful present an array of reasons. They point out that comics, through their portrayal of crime and cruelty, accustom children to crime and violence. Children identify themselves with questionable characters and strive to imitate them. Even though comics claim to teach that crime does not pay, children are thrilled by the exploits of a hero-criminal and probably overlook a moral contained in the last picture or two.

Critics of comics think that many of the pictures frighten children and affect them unfavorably not only immediately but also years later. Neurotic or unstable children are particularly likely to be harmed by overstimulation.

Critics also deplore the amount of time wasted on comics. Persistent reading interferes with other activities such as household duties, school work, the reading of good books, and active outdoor recreation. It may induce eyestrain because comic magazines are usually printed on cheap paper with poor-quality colors, drawings, and printing.

On the favorable side, several prominent investigators have cited evidence that the effect of comics is not necessarily bad. For example, Witty contrasted 10 percent of the children who read comics most in one school with 10 percent of those who read them least.

⁷ Jesse L. Murrell, "Cincinnati Rates the Comic Books," *Parents' Magazine*, February, 1950, p. 80.

He found little difference in the two groups in intelligence or in general reading interests.

R. L. Thorndike studied the word content of the four most popular comics—*Superman*, *Batman*, *Action Comics*, and *Detective Comics*. He found that the actual average vocabulary count in each of these magazines was about 10,000 words.

Perhaps the cardinal thing is to understand each child's pattern and variety of reading. Then he can be guided not only to select better comics but also to choose good books that satisfy his desire for fast-moving, easy-to-read stories.

Magazines. Boys and girls are attracted by a number of magazines other than comics. Witty and Kopel reported in 1939 that in Grades I to IV both girls and boys gave first rank to *Child Life*. In Grade V boys gave first place to *Popular Mechanics* and in Grades VI, VII, and VIII to *Boys' Life*. Among popular periodicals for boys and girls today are *My Weekly Reader*, *Current Events*, *Jack and Jill*, *Story Parade*, *Children's Activities*, and *Junior Language and Arts*.

In 1942 Witty and Comer found that four magazines other than comics were read regularly, and three often, among a group of high-school boys and girls. Students in the four high-school classes showed little difference in the type of magazine preferred. Juniors and seniors seemed to select sophisticated types of magazines no oftener than freshmen. *Reader's Digest*, *Life*, and *The Saturday Evening Post* had the most general appeal. Probably the apparent popularity of certain magazines reflects their wide home circulation.

Books. For most children books are fairly accessible. Public libraries as well as school libraries place them within easy reach. Remote areas are served by bookmobiles. Both public and school libraries may employ specially prepared children's librarians. Often they arrange reading programs and story hours for youngsters.

The St. Louis, Missouri, public library has sponsored a summer "Read-Away" Vacation Club since 1949. The first year the theme was "Great Books of Childhood," the second year, "Around the World in 90 Days," and the third year, "Makers of the U.S.A."

In 1951 the club enrolled more than 2000 children representing 374 schools. Of these, 1525 received red buttons, awarded for reading and reporting on five books, and 883 received certificates for reading

and reviewing fifteen. Children either wrote a brief review or were interviewed by the librarians before they received credit.

One child turned in this succinct comment on *Crazy Horse, Great Warrior of the Sioux*:

"He walked through the Crow tribe quietly and stold four horses. A dog barked and the Crow began to shoot their arrows. Crazy Horse was already on his way."

A youngster bedridden with rheumatic fever wrote one of the best reviews. Of *Stefanie Was the Good One* she wrote:

"I like this book because it shows us how much it means to be an American to the foreigner. And how much we think about it just because we have lived here longer and we shouldn't make any exception of them. I think they make better citizens than some real ones."

A wealth of children's literature is available. From 1922 to 1952 juvenile books have ranked second each year in the number of titles issued. For 1952 the figure was 1245. Books have been written to appeal to every age and taste. We shall not attempt to list all the elements that attract children. Suffice it to say that children have diversified interests that make it necessary to provide all sorts of books. In general, young children like stories about familiar happenings and places, about other children and animals. They like fairy tales and imaginative stories that help them escape from the world of reality. They like adventure, mystery, and action. As they grow older, boys especially show strong scientific interests, with volumes on atomic energy and guided missiles in demand; girls favor romantic stories and books about adolescents with a school background. Biography and books on etiquette are coming to the fore. Girls at an early age are asking for books on beauty care.

The amount of time that children spend in reading books depends in part upon the home. Children who have stories told or read to them and who are surrounded by books are likely to turn to reading as one of their favorite leisure-time pursuits.

Like adults, children read fewer books than magazines. Among adolescents the amount of voluntary reading often decreases. Perhaps this is due to a growing desire to participate in the life of the crowd.

MOTION PICTURES

The twentieth century has witnessed the development of motion pictures as a dominant form of mass communication.⁸ Their forerunner was the kinoscope invented by Edison in 1889. So little was he concerned about this invention that he did not patent it in Europe. Later the projector and screen were perfected, and in 1894 the kinoscope had its first public commercial showing in New York City. One customer at a time could look into a machine and see the pictures move. Pictures included such things as boxers in parts of rounds and bits of vaudeville acts.

Soon the magic lantern was used in connection with the kinoscope so that an entire audience could view the screen. At first pictures were used as a part of variety shows which were called "vaudeville." Later penny-arcade owners presented all-movie programs. By 1905 the five-cent movie theater, the "nickelodeon," had arrived with the opening of a theater in Pittsburgh.

In these early years from 1903 to 1908 the foundation of the motion-picture industry was laid. Pictures were made hastily to meet the demands of growing audiences. Soon there were about 10,000 exhibitors in the United States alone.

From 1908 to 1914 was a period of struggle for economic control in the industry. Ten leading manufacturers of cameras and projectors and the producers of movies pooled their resources to form the Motion Picture Patents Company. They made rental of their films and use of their projectors mutually contingent. In addition to the rental cost of films, they charged exhibitors two dollars a week for the use of their projectors. By 1914 the power of the Patents Company was reduced, and by 1917 the company was outlawed.

The motion-picture industry flourished during World War I. With European studios closed by war, American pictures took over more than three-fourths of the world's screen time. Audiences increased. People were becoming more discriminating in judging pictures and were more willing to pay higher prices for entertainment. The "feature" picture was beginning to replace short pictures. The production of Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* in 1915 gave strong impetus to the feature movement.

⁸ Ruth A. Inglis, *Freedom of the Movies*, University of Chicago Press, 1947.

The next striking advance was in 1926 with Warner Brothers' release of *Don Juan*, the first feature picture with sound. Within three years the industry was virtually made over by the talking picture.

The rapid expansion of the motion-picture industry created many problems. Costs of production were high. Large numbers of pictures had to be filmed. Movie-goers began to identify and to prefer certain actors and actresses, and the star system with its consequent salary increases arose. Advertising became essential to keep up the movie-going habit. Changes in distribution took place. "Block-booking" called for the simultaneous leasing of a group of films in a given block and caused theaters to take many bad pictures in order to secure a good one. Although block-booking has been eliminated, it still influences the basis on which films are rented. Pictures are selected by exhibitors from written descriptions often before they are produced. Such factors as production costs and reputation of stars and directors influence the choice.

Until a Supreme Court decision in 1948 separated theater owning from production, the motion-picture industry was virtually in the hands of five companies that not only produced pictures but also owned theaters. The big five, together with three other companies commonly listed with them, constitute the eight major companies. In 1945, 65 percent of the feature films were released by the majors. They produce the most expensive Hollywood films, a large proportion of the short subjects, and nearly all the newsreels. Executives of the major companies inestimably influence the character and policies of the motion-picture industry.

Regulation of Motion Pictures. Public concern as to the influence of motion pictures has led to both legal and self-censorship. However, the federal government has not enacted general legislation to regulate motion pictures. Censorship is left largely to states and cities. A few states require that all films be previewed by a board of censors. Some cities have their own censorship boards.

More promising than legal censorship are the attempts of the industry to provide self-censorship. A code adopted by the industry stresses three basic principles:

1. No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience shall never be thrown to the side of crime, wrongdoing, evil or sin.

2. Correct standards of life, subject only to the requirements of drama and entertainment, shall be presented.

3. Law, natural or human, shall not be ridiculed, nor shall sympathy be created for its violation.

Attendance. As of January, 1952, there were 19,048 motion picture theaters in the United States, with a seating capacity of nearly 12 million. Accurate information as to the number who occupy these seats weekly is unavailable, but estimates range from 65 million to 100 million persons. The impact of television has cut attendance so drastically that in some areas from 22 to 40 percent of the motion-picture theaters have closed.

According to Edgar Dale, few people over forty go to the movies. Essentially the audience is a fairly young one. Although average attendance for boys and girls is about once or twice a week, some go three or four times a week. In *Elmtown's Youth* it is stated that in Elmtown 68 percent of the boys and 73 percent of the girls go to at least one show a week. More than one-fourth attend two or three shows a week.

Yet with the millions of young people who go to movies, almost no pictures are made especially for them. Perhaps one picture in five is suitable, whereas one in three is objectionable for children.

Movie interests of children follow much the same line as their reading and radio interests. Children in elementary school like films about cowboys and pilots. They are less interested in pictures of current events, news shorts, biography, and travel. As they reach high-school age, boys show a preference for mystery, western, and G-man stories, while girls prefer love stories.

However, in considering reports of movie interests, we must remember that the choices of children hinge upon what they have seen rather than upon what they might like to see. Instead of giving people pictures that they want, the movies accustom people to wanting what they see.

Effects of Attendance. The effects of attending motion pictures is a moot question. In general, the findings as to their influence on physical and emotional health are not altogether favorable. Frequent attendance may result in disturbed sleep, eye fatigue, increased nervousness, fears, and night terrors. Scenes of danger, conflict, and tragedy have the most marked effect on children from six to twelve, and romantic and erotic scenes have the most noticeable

of all the regional stations which, to a large degree, service the state. He concluded that "between 6 o'clock and 10 o'clock at night, when most people are available for listening, Illinois residents had, basically, two choices: they could listen to news and news comment, or to entertainment."

Top radio programs for March 1 to 7, 1953, according to Nielsen ratings, were:¹⁰

Rank	Program	Homes Reached (000)
Evening, Once-a-Week	(Average for All Programs)	(2864)
1	Jack Benny (CBS)	8011
2	Amos 'n' Andy (CBS)	6624
3	Charlie McCarthy Show (CBS)	5953
4	Lux Radio Theatre (CBS)	5729
5	Our Miss Brooks (CBS)	4968
6	People are Funny (CBS)	4699
7	Arthur Godfrey's Scouts (CBS)	4431
8	You Bet Your Life (NBC)	4207
9	My Little Margie (CBS)	4118
10	Suspense (CBS)	4028
Evening, Multi-Weekly	(Average for All Programs)	(1566)
1	One Man's Family (NBC)	2685
2	News of the World (NBC)	2596
3	Silver Eagle (ABC)	2506
Weekday	(Average for All Programs)	(2014)
1	Arthur Godfrey (Nabisco) (CBS)	3580
2	Arthur Godfrey (Liggett & Myers) (CBS)	3536
3	Arthur Godfrey (Toni) (CBS)	3446
4	Romance of Helen Trent (CBS)	3357
5	Wendy Warren and the News (CBS)	3312
6	Our Gal, Sunday (CBS)	3267
7	Arthur Godfrey (Pillsbury) (CBS)	3043
8	Guiding Light (CBS)	3043
9	Aunt Jenny (CBS)	2909
10	This Is Nora Drake (Toni) (CBS)	2820
Day, Sunday	(Average for All Programs)	(1119)
1	Shadow, The (Sylvania) (MBS)	2014
2	Shadow, The (Wildroot) (MBS)	1925
3	New York Philharmonic (CBS)	1656
Day, Saturday	(Average for All Programs)	(1432)
1	Theater of Today (CBS)	2596
2	Stars Over Hollywood (CBS)	2551
3	Fun For All (CBS)	2327

¹⁰ Copyright, 1953, by A. C. Nielsen Company; used by permission.

Although children listen to many adult programs, some programs are planned originally for the younger group. In 1942 the Federal Radio Education Committee drew up criteria for good radio programs for children. Seven criteria concern commonly accepted moral, social, and ethical characteristics of America:

1. Children's radio programs should build faith in democracy and unflinching loyalty to the ideals of democratic living.
2. Occupational skills which are essential to American life should be honestly and sincerely portrayed.
3. The role of minority groups of races and of nationalities which make up modern America should be portrayed sympathetically and realistically.
4. Children's radio programs should be authentic in broad historical or contemporary interpretation, factual detail, and artistic portrayal.
5. Children's radio programs should maintain generally recognized standards of good taste.
6. Crime is not suitable as a dominant theme in a radio program directed specifically to children.
7. The rich field of children's literature should provide the main part of the content of children's radio stories, and the main cues for handling plot and character development in the stories originating from other sources.¹¹

Eight criteria specify standards designed to insure programs that contribute to healthy personality development:

1. Radio programs should arouse in children a wide range of emotional response and avoid undue stress upon fear and aggression.
2. The child has a need for genuine characters of truly heroic proportions as imaginary playmates and models to imitate and with which to identify himself.
3. In fantasy and fairy-tale programs, the fantastic or purely imaginative elements should be clearly identifiable to child listeners as unreal.
4. Intrinsic interest, maintenance of suspense, and satisfactory resolution of suspense should be consistently observed in the development of any children's program.
5. The social problems of childhood involving friendship, gang loyalty, and respect for one's equals should be frequently and honestly portrayed on children's radio programs.

¹¹ Judith C. Waller, *Radio the Fifth Estate*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 246.

amazing efficiency. The initiation of commercial color broadcasting marks one of the triumphs of the 1950's.

In 1952 the Federal Communications Commission made channel assignments to 242 communities exclusively for noncommercial educational purposes. The first noncommercial educational TV grant was made July 23, 1952, to Kansas State College of Agriculture and Applied Science at Manhattan. In April, 1953, the first noncommercial station to operate on an educational license went on the air at the University of Houston, Texas.

Television programs are supported principally by advertisers. Gross sales of time for network TV in 1952 amounted to \$180 million. Food advertising alone accounted for more than one-sixth of the total billings. The next five categories in order of their expenditures for the medium were tobacco, toiletries, soaps and cleansers, and automotive and household equipment.

The number of advertisers using network TV in January, 1953, was 149, a drop of 18 from January, 1952. The list of the ten top advertisers in January, 1953, was the same as that of a year earlier except that General Mills replaced P. Lorillard Company; the list follows:¹⁴

Procter & Gamble Co.	\$1,157,637
Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co.	842,530
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.	741,535
American Tobacco Co.	675,760
General Motors Corp.	582,377
Lever Brothers Co.	506,388
General Foods Corp.	496,976
Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co.	473,900
General Mills, Inc.	433,883
Gillette Company	428,825

The fabulous costs of producing TV shows have so enraged national advertisers that at their meeting in Hot Springs, Virginia, in March, 1953, the Association of National Advertisers held several off-the-record discussions with the dominant theme, "Is TV Worth the Cost—Or Are You Running Out of Aspirin?" The classic case of a TV network being priced out of the market is that of the Texas Company which sponsored Milton Berle when a cost of \$50,000 per week was an almost unheard-of figure. Meantime other stars rose

¹⁴ Source—Publishers Information Bureau.

as high as Berle, or higher, and prices rose too. By early 1953 Berle's *Texaco Star Theater* cost the Texas Company about \$110,000 a week—a sum so fantastic that the program was canceled in June, 1953. Ted Bergmann, director of sales for the Du Mont Television Network, cautions that when a sponsor selects a “glamour” program without regard to the sales effectiveness or the product being advertised, he is purchasing “tremendous waste circulation and soon realizes he no longer can bear the burden imposed by this Hollywood approach.”

The A. C. Nielsen Company's report, covering top TV programs for the two weeks ending March 7, 1953, placed *I Love Lucy* (CBS-TV) first both in the number of homes reached and in the percentage of homes reached in each station area; the listings follow:¹⁵

Rank	Program	Number of Homes Reached (ooo)
1	<i>I Love Lucy</i> (CBS)	15,776
2	Arthur Godfrey & Friends (CBS) (Liggett & Myers Tobacco)	10,797
3	Colgate Comedy Hour (NBC)	10,751
4	Dragnet (NBC)	10,464
5	Texaco Star Theater (NBC)	10,288
6	Buick Circus Hour (NBC)	9,902
7	You Bet Your Life (NBC)	9,817
8	Arthur Godfrey & Friends (CBS) (Toni-Gillette Razor Co.)	9,556
9	Pabst Blue Ribbon Bouts (CBS)	9,147
10	Gillette Cavalcade (NBC)	9,027

Rank	Program	Percent of Homes Reached
1	<i>I Love Lucy</i> (CBS)	72.6
2	Arthur Godfrey's Scouts (CBS)	59.3
3	Texaco Star Theater (NBC)	58.2
4	Arthur Godfrey & Friends (CBS) (Liggett & Myers Tobacco)	52.6
5	Dragnet (NBC)	52.6
6	Buick Circus Hour (NBC)	50.8
7	Colgate Comedy Hour (NBC)	49.8
8	Gillette Cavalcade (NBC)	45.8
9	You Bet Your Life (NBC)	45.4
10	Arthur Godfrey & Friends (CBS) (Toni-Gillette Razor Co.)	44.8

¹⁵ Copyright, 1953, by A. C. Nielsen Company; used by permission.

Since television is still relatively new, numerous attempts are being made to find out how much time is spent before TV screens. One survey was made in 1949 under the sponsorship of *Television Forecast* magazine by Ruth E. Taylor, a graduate student at Northwestern University. She sent questionnaires to 1000 owners of television sets in the Chicago area and received 549 responses. The average owner was 37 years old. His family averaged 3.7 persons, of whom 1.3 were under eighteen. Owners were in extremely varied income brackets. More than 100 different occupations were listed, including janitors and executives. Fifty-five who replied listed themselves as executives, a similar number as businessmen, and 82 as housewives; six, physicians; three, dentists; and one, fireman.

Taylor's survey indicated that television had a profound effect on leisure-time activities of this group. In homes polled after four o'clock in the afternoon radio listening dropped on the average 62.2 percent. Other leisure-time pursuits dropped as follows: movie-going, 58.3 percent; magazine reading, 27.7; newspaper reading, 22, and sports attendance, 7.8.

The survey showed Milton Berle the No. 1 attraction, with 25.5 percent response; *Kukla, Fran and Ollie* were second, with 10.7. Then in order came Arthur Godfrey, 9.2; wrestling and boxing, 7.6; *Philco Television Playhouse*, 5.9; sports (general), 5.7; *Super Circus*, 5.3; hockey, 3.7; and movies, 3.5.

Another statement that calls attention to the effect of television on the use of leisure is the following:

Apart from its effect on the "mass media," TV significantly affects other important uses of leisure. Negatively affected are conversation and visiting (other than for the purpose of watching TV), phonograph use, legitimate theatres, dining out, attendance at commercial entertainment and recreation outside the home, participation in recreational activities outside the home (sports), and inside the home (hobbies). A significant increase is noted, on the other hand, in the extent to which the home becomes the center for the family and its friends, for the purpose of watching TV.¹⁶

A quip in *The New Yorker* about parents with television sets longing for the good old days when they did not know where their children were may reflect a changing recreational pattern.

¹⁶ Dallas W. Smythe, "Television and Its Educational Implications," *Elementary English*, January, 1950, p. 46.

The impact of television on school children is becoming evident. An inquiry conducted in 1949 among 1700 students of South Shore High School in Chicago showed that almost 100 students lived in homes equipped with video. Some sets had been in service as long as twenty-seven months, but the average had been operating for eight months. The average time spent in televiewing was $23\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. In some cases as many as 49 hours per week were reported. "To appreciate the import of these figures," the author reminds us, "it must be remembered that when watching a television program it is impossible to do anything else where concentration and attention are required. Students of today have shown that they can listen to the radio and still go through the motions of doing their homework. This is absolutely impossible with TV. Expressed in different terms, the effect is as though the student attended a three-hour movie every night of the week!"¹⁷

The time reported by the South Shore group is not unusual. In Burdick Junior High School in Stamford, Connecticut, 50 percent of the students had television sets in their homes, and they spent an average of 27 hours a week before the screen. This was almost as much time as they spent in school.

In Roselle (New Jersey) High School a survey in March, 1950, showed that television affected homework adversely. Scholastic averages were off 15 percent for students who watched television regularly (one-third of the student body). The more hours a student watched TV, the lower his grades dropped. Freshmen, who averaged 31 hours per week in front of a television screen, were making much lower grades than seniors, who spent only 17 hours per week in this way.

A recent survey of TV habits of pupils in the Milford, Connecticut, schools disclosed that the average amount of time spent in televiewing was 3.54 hours per day per pupil. There was a definite correlation between age of child and the amount of time devoted to TV; the older the child the less viewing he did. Poorer television habits and lower intelligence quotients, less parental control, and poor school achievement tended to appear in the same child.

Television has a special fascination for children. Since they are visual-minded, they enjoy seeing somebody much more than just

¹⁷ Philip Lewis, "T-V and Teen Agers," *Education Digest*, November, 1949, p. 32.

hearing him speak. They are intrigued by facial expression, costumes, and settings.

Obviously children spend much time viewing programs that are planned especially for adults. Some of these are very desirable; others are highly questionable. "What the broadcasters cannot overlook," warns Jack Gould, radio-television critic of the *New York Times*, "is that children of varying age watch television at almost all hours, particularly when the different time zones are taken into account. That alone dictates a note of caution. The crime show is a form of theater; it must not become a way of life."

Even children's programs are replete with gore and horror. In Chicago during the last week of 1952, thirty pairs of parents monitored children's daytime programs on Chicago's four TV stations. When the week was over their notebooks showed that no less than 93 murders had been shown to the children. During the first four days, including Christmas, 77 murders were pictured. Then the *Chicago Daily News* broke its story on what the parents were doing, and the portrayal of crime dropped. But at the end of the week the score was 295 crimes of violence including murders, on a total of 134 children's programs. In addition to the killings and 20 miscellaneous crimes, the children saw 78 shootings, 9 kidnappings, 9 robberies, 44 gunfights, 33 sluggings, 2 knifings, 3 whiplashings, 2 poisonings, and 2 bombings. The greatest number of homicides appeared on Saturdays and Sundays "when films of violence were shown almost continuously from 9 in the morning until children's bedtime."

While television programs are still in their infancy, parents have a chance to make a real contribution by helping shape their pattern. They can assist producers in determining age-level appeal and attention span. They can make known their considered judgments on programs and express their desire for high-quality offerings.

HOME, SCHOOL, AND COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY AND MASS MEDIA

Some responsibilities of home and school in connection with mass media have already been mentioned. They lie along similar lines for many media—comics, radio, movies, and television.

In trying to judge the effects of mass media we must recognize both desirable and undesirable features. On the one hand, they

offer a means of enriching a child's experience, of extending his horizon, and of broadening his views of life. They may have therapeutic value by giving him release from humdrum everyday affairs. According to Murphy: "Reversal of child-adult roles, triumph of childish ingenuity, defeat of rigid or aggressive parental activity, resolution of sibling conflicts, transcendence of reality limitations, are important themes for children along with the melodramatic ones; and all together provide an important world of fantasy to be shared with friends as well as to be enjoyed alone."

On the other hand, mass media often claim time that children should spend in work or active recreation. They may adversely affect both physical and mental health. They may debase standards of taste and behavior, and even lead to crime.

To evaluate their effects we must take into account the individual child. What constitutes an unacceptable program for one may not necessarily be so regarded for another. For example, a normal child with a secure home atmosphere may not be harmed by the portrayal of crime in comics or movies, whereas an unstable child from a broken home may be induced to emulate the villain-hero.

The problem of sensible use of mass media calls for coöperation of home, school, and community.

Parents should sensitize children to high standards of taste. They should call attention to desirable features of certain comics, radio and television programs, and motion pictures. They should share some of their children's experiences with mass media. The habit of doing things together is worthy of cultivation. To paraphrase Ogden Nash, a child would be in much less danger from the evil effects of these media "If one's kin and one's kith were more fun to be with."

Parents should encourage children to budget their time so that reasonable provision is made for the enjoyment of mass media. If a child wants to spend an excessive amount of time in sedentary pursuits like listening to the radio or attending movies, his parents should ascertain the reason. They should teach children to entertain themselves, and they should take their share of responsibility for providing appropriate recreational facilities.

Schools as well as parents should teach children to exercise discrimination in choosing entertainment. Teachers must be familiar

with experiences that pupils obtain from mass media. Occasionally class discussions and projects can grow out of these experiences. From time to time school facilities, such as radio and movie projector, may be used to give pupils opportunities for learning to appreciate approved programs.

The best efforts of home and school in dealing with problems related to mass media are hampered, however, unless the entire community coöperates. Local groups can exert influence in such matters as discouraging the sale of trashy comics, protesting objectionable motion pictures and patronizing good ones, and writing to radio and television stations to express their opinions of programs.

An encouraging movement was the creation in 1950 of a National Committee on Youth and Mass Media designed to provide an organization through which representatives of these media and national youth-serving groups can work together. It includes representatives of civic and educational organizations, youth agencies, the Motion Picture Association of America, Association of Comic Magazine Publishers, National Association of Broadcasters, and American Newspaper Publishers Association.

YOUTH-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS

Chambers, who has made several studies of youth-serving organizations, defines such an organization as "one whose activities are devoted wholly or in substantial part to advancing the welfare of young persons." Some of the organizations have few young members, but through local, state, or national agencies they expend part of their efforts on enterprises related to youth welfare. Others are primarily youth membership organizations, 50 percent or more of their members being between twelve and twenty-five years of age.

The groups are as varied in purpose and policy as the many-sided interests of youth. They include political, labor, veterans', and farm associations, service clubs of businessmen, women's clubs, professional and quasi-professional associations in the fields of education, health, recreation, social welfare, and vocational guidance, and groups that promote social reforms and international organizations.

Table 4 gives information concerning total membership and annual budget of headquarters of fourteen of the larger youth membership organizations.

TABLE 4. Fourteen of the Larger Youth-Membership Organizations¹⁸

Organization	Total Membership		Approximate Annual Budget of Headquarters	
	1935-36	1939-40	1935-36	1945-46
American Junior Red Cross	8,351,000	8,588,398	\$ 225,000	\$ 361,000
Boy Scouts of America	1,000,000	1,429,622	958,000	1,367,000
Boys' Clubs of America	263,013	295,732	77,000	159,000
Camp Fire Girls	232,058	278,451	88,000	135,100
Catholic Students' Mission Crusade	500,000	700,000		20,000
4-H Clubs	1,060,000	1,528,945	a	a
Future Farmers of America	117,000	230,000	15,100	18,200
Girl Scouts	400,000	636,941	1,131,000	1,459,000
International Society of Christian Endeavor	4,000,000 ^b	4,000,000 ^b		75,000
Methodist Youth Fellowship	612,119	538,522	39,000	43,700
National Jewish Welfare Board	350,000 ^d	400,000 ^d	140,000	150,000
Sodality of Our Lady	500,000	806,800	85,000	75,000
Young Men's Christian Associations	1,061,876	1,316,573	741,000	789,700
Young Women's Christian Associations	407,000	548,000	1,188,000 ^f	958,800 ^f
				1,245,000 ^g

^a None apart from that of the Extension Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

^b Includes membership in foreign countries.

^c This is the budget merely of the National Conference of the Methodist Youth Fellowship and represents only a part of the budget of the Youth Department of the General Board of Education of the Methodist Church.

^d Underlying membership of constituent bodies.

^e Includes special wartime activities, including overseas services.

^f Includes work in other countries and contributions to World's Council YWCA.

^g Exclusive of supplemental budgets.

¹⁸ M. M. Chambers, *Youth-Serving Organizations: National Non-governmental Associations*, American Council on Education, 3rd ed., 1948, p. 3.

Even casual examination of youth-serving organizations reveals their lack of unified and coöperative effort. Often they are working at cross-purposes. Each organization has its own cause to promote—a cause that may be diametrically opposed to that of another group. One glorifies nationalism; another, internationalism; one promotes religious tolerance; another, sectarianism. Young people who belong to several groups may become confused and feel a need for counsel and direction.

OPINIONS OF HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS CONCERNING YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

In order to obtain young people's opinions concerning youth organizations a questionnaire was distributed in 1937 to 585 high-school students in twelve cities. Replies were received from 479 students most of whom were sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen years old. The memberships reported most frequently by these students were in organizations with nation-wide programs.

Students preferred an organization for what it did for them personally. They evinced little interest in the opportunity of serving others. For example, girls who joined the Girl Scouts liked the companionship and educational advantages offered and the variety of programs.

In view of the belief that adolescents are strongly motivated by high ideals, it is interesting to note one comment: "One does not get the impression of any intense devotion to ideals. To most of the youth these groups offer a chance for holding office, serving on committees, and having a good time. Perhaps that is all that should be expected. Certainly it is worthwhile to learn how to coöperate in achieving a common goal even tho that goal is a social event of the present. Nothing in the answers suggests the possibilities of improving the organizations and very little of the idea of self-improvement made its appearance."¹⁹

YOUTH CENTERS

Although we are prone to assume that youth-serving organizations and youth centers are closely connected, youth centers originated outside such groups.

¹⁹ American Association of School Administrators, *Youth Education Today*, Sixteenth Yearbook, 1938, p. 266.

In 1945 the Recreation Division of the Office of Community War Services made a study of youth centers throughout the country. It defined the term youth center as "a recreation center used at specific times, sometimes exclusively, by young people, with a program which they help to plan and operate themselves. These centers may or may not be in a separate location; often they are in quarters used for other purposes."

The centers have come into being because young people desire an inexpensive place of their own where they can be with their contemporaries. They seek a creative outlet for their abundant energy. They like to plan and carry out their own programs.

Membership usually covers the fourteen- to eighteen-year-olds, with about three-fourths of the centers also including children thirteen years old, and three-fourths including nineteen-year-olds. Some centers admit younger children for special periods. Unless older and younger groups are separated, older members are likely to drop out.

Ideally, membership should represent a true cross section of the community or neighborhood. It should demonstrate democracy in action. No one clique or economic or social group should dominate.

There are no reliable figures as to the present number of youth centers. In 1945, however, there were approximately 3000.

Centers are financed in countless ways. The Recreation Division's study found that the most frequent sources of funds were dues, proceeds from juke boxes, canteens and other concessions, and private donations. Financial help was also received from social agencies, recreation departments, civic and service clubs, municipal governments, schools, churches, and private industry.

Most centers included in the survey provided opportunities for dancing, talking, table games, and refreshments. More than half of them also offered other activities. These activities, in order of frequency, were listed:

- Dramatics
- Orchestra
- Shop and arts and crafts
- Outdoor athletics
- Swimming
- Gym work

- Forums
- Group singing
- Dancing classes
- Hobby groups and special-interest clubs
- Square and folk dancing

Excursions (picnics, hayrides, etc.)	Shuffleboard
Publishing newspapers	Skating
Bowling	Community service (salvage drives, bond drives, etc.)
Movies	Archery
Producing radio shows	Employment offices
Sewing	Personal hygiene classes

Centers which broaden their programs to include more than just dancing and refreshments give the surest evidence of operating permanently. The most popular activity, however, is dancing.

Centers often have a youth council which serves as a governing board. Teen-agers are usually almost entirely responsible for planning and operating the centers. However, adults serve as advisers and give moral and financial support. Most centers have an adult in attendance whenever they are open; in some the adults are merely hostesses and chaperones and in others they are nonprofessional or professional directors.

Rules and regulations, drawn up by members, are included in the constitution and bylaws and are often posted on the walls of the center or printed on the back of the membership card. Typical rules are:

1. Members shall at all times conduct themselves as ladies and gentlemen.
2. There shall be no drinking of alcoholic beverages at the club and no member shall be admitted to the club who has recently been drinking elsewhere.
3. There shall be no gambling of any description.
4. There shall be no loitering on the outside of or near the club-room.
5. Club members who destroy, break, or mutilate any furniture or equipment shall immediately replace same or pay for it.
6. Members shall not permit non-members to use their cards.
7. Each member is responsible for keeping any part of the club or equipment he uses clean.
8. There shall be no profanity or vulgar language.
9. There shall be no disorderly conduct.
10. Each club member shall immediately and without protest respect the wishes and instructions of the adult person or member officer in charge of the club.

11. If any facilities of the club should be limited, members shall take turns in the use of the same.
12. There shall be no smoking in the building.
13. There shall be no dancing on Sunday.
14. The violation of any rule shall be punishable by the forfeiture of membership card and rights of membership in the club.²⁰

Youth centers may be part of an overall community program or a separate group. Both arrangements have certain advantages. Some people feel that teen-agers should not be segregated. They believe that the centers may help eliminate social distance between generations. Others feel that separate gathering places are desirable for youth.

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

In 1887 the old *Life* magazine began sponsoring camps for New York's underprivileged children. Private camps opened a few years later. The movement grew until today nearly 10,000 public and private camps are scattered throughout the United States. Some are free camps maintained by churches and by social welfare and philanthropic groups for underprivileged children. Others are run by nonprofit organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. Their fees range from about \$10 to \$18 a week. Still others are private camps operated by commercial camp owners. Their fees are usually high. They may begin at \$350 and run to as much as \$800 or more for eight weeks. They are supported by parents who for one reason or another wish to have their children away from home during the summer months.

Camps fill a unique place in the life of the modern child. They give him a fresh physical environment, often in beautiful natural surroundings. Active out-of-door life with well-balanced meals and regular hours of sleep makes for physical vigor and well-being. A child builds up physical strength and stamina and acquires respect for and appreciation of physical fitness.

Besides furnishing changed physical surroundings, camps also provide an unaccustomed social environment. A child becomes an integral part of an unfamiliar group of associates. In real-life situa-

²⁰ Federal Security Agency, Office of Community War Services, Division of Recreation, *Youth Centers*, 1945, p. 16.

tions he learns good sportsmanship and coöperation. He learns, in a spirit of fine fellowship, to practice fundamental principles of democratic living. As a participating member of a democratic social group he has ample opportunities to manifest qualities of both a discriminating follower and a respected leader.

For a child with personality problems that have grown out of his home or school situation a few weeks in camp may work magic. Perhaps he needs psychological weaning, a release from overly solicitous parents. In camp he learns to rely upon himself and to assume responsibility. By living in a wholesome atmosphere he has a chance to become emotionally stable. Understanding and well-trained counselors aid in his readjustment. Through the close association of camp life they get an insight into his problems and they may devise a plan for readjustment that parents and teachers alike may have overlooked.

Camps make a signal contribution by enabling children to use their leisure time constructively. In these days of urban living with little chance for summer employment, children are faced with two or three months of virtually enforced idleness. In camp a child may try out his powers and skills in diversified zestful activities. He discovers that he is not obliged to be a slave to commercial entertainment or spectator sports. He learns simple hobbies that may be a source of lasting pleasure.

Some camps specialize in a few activities, but others carry on as many as possible side by side. The principal activities are usually sports—archery, fencing, swimming, canoeing, rowing, aquaplaning, fishing, hiking, riding, riflery, badminton, tennis, volleyball, and softball; arts and crafts—dancing, dramatics, music, weaving, and woodworking; and campcraft—cooking, fire making, and tent pitching.

The program of a camp may typify one of these three plans:

1. It may be rigidly fixed, with all details planned in advance.
2. It may be broadly prearranged, but have a flexible daily program.
3. It may be unplanned in advance by the staff, but planned co-operatively by staff and campers from day to day.

Since children are likely to be subject to rather rigid schedules throughout most of the year, camps try to have fairly flexible programs.

Usually, however, a camp director arranges a daily time schedule. This schedule is used by Towering Pines, a private camp for boys at Eagle River, Wisconsin:

Dawn hour: Fishing, early dip—optional for older boys

- 7:30 Morning bugle
- 7:45 Flag raising
- 8:00 Breakfast
- 8:45 Duty and inspection
- 9:30 Morning program as planned by campers
- 11:30 Rest and preparation for dinner
- 12:15 Dinner
- 1:00 Quiet hour—siesta, reading
- 2:00 The afternoon program
- 3:45 Swimming
- 4:30 Free period
- 5:15 Supper
- 6:00 Quiet, letter writing, rehearsals
- 6:45 Games, campfires, entertainment, story-telling, or social hour
“at home”
- 7:45 Evening snack
- 8:15 Bed time for Junior Campers
- 8:45 Bed time for Senior Campers
- 9:00 Taps

Swimming Classes: On half-hour schedule from 10:00 A.M.

Horseback Riding Classes, scheduled on the hour. Dawn and dusk rides and horseback trips for older boys who qualify.

Religious Services on Sunday mornings: Service for Catholic boys in Eagle River. There are camp services for boys of other faiths.

Since only about 5 percent of the children in the United States have an opportunity to enjoy camp life, there is a growing demand for extending camp facilities. School camping programs are already operating or planned in nineteen states. More than fifty Michigan schools have camping programs in which students plant trees, work

against soil erosion, build trails, and construct habitats for game and fish. Several California schools also provide camps. Wherever the plan is in operation teachers agree that classroom experience takes on added meaning because the camp starts with problems closest to the child and gives him a chance to learn by doing.

THE COMMUNITY

The term *community* can be interpreted to include the international community, nation, state, and immediate environment. This discussion of the community is concerned with the immediate environment of a particular school or school system. This does not imply, however, that the school should be unconcerned about the community in the broadest meaning of the term.

In a sense all the agencies that have been mentioned in this chapter represent community influences. These and many others—theaters, art galleries, museums, educational programs conducted by health centers, training carried on by industrial organizations—have their part in the education of the oncoming generation.

For many years the problem of coördinating the work of school and community has presented a challenge. In colonial days when school claimed but a small portion of a pupil's time and the teacher knew the parents well through boarding from house to house the maintenance of close contact between school and community did not offer any difficulty.

During the twentieth century, however, leaders have tried consciously to bridge the gap between school and community. During this period, according to Rugg, there have been three concepts of the relation of the school and community. First was the community of the school. Parker, Dewey, and their associates advocated this ideal of a fourfold like-minded coöperative group—parents, children and youth, teachers and administration.

Second was the community-centered school which reaches out into the community and brings community conditions and problems into the program of study. The community school attempts to:

1. Evolve its purposes out of the interests and needs of the people.
2. Utilize a wide variety of community resources in its program.
3. Practice and promote democracy in all activities of school and community.

4. Build the curriculum core around the major processes and problems of human living.
5. Exercise definite leadership for the planned and coöperative improvement of group living in the community and larger areas.
6. Enlist children and adults in coöperative group projects of common interest and mutual concern.²¹

An extended statement of the characteristics of the community school was formulated by the National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration in 1948:

1. The community school seeks to operate continuously as an important unit in the family of agencies serving the common purpose of improving community living.
2. The community school shares with citizens continuing responsibility for the identification of community needs and the development of subsequent action programs to meet these needs.
3. The community school begins its responsibility for better living with the immediate school environment.
4. The curriculum of the community school is sufficiently comprehensive and flexible to facilitate the realization of its purpose.
5. The community school program is dynamic, constantly changing to meet emerging community needs.
6. The community school makes full use of all community resources for learning experiences.
7. The community school develops and uses distinctive types of teaching materials.
8. The community school shares with other agencies the responsibility for providing opportunities for appropriate learning experiences for all members of the community.
9. The community school recognizes improvement in social and community relations behavior as an indication of individual growth and development.
10. The community school develops continuous evaluation in terms of the quality of living for pupils, teachers, and administrators; for the total school program; and for the community.
11. The pupil personnel services of the community school are coöperatively developed in relation to community needs.
12. The community school secures staff personnel properly prepared to contribute to the distinctive objectives of the school, facilitates effective work and continuous professional growth by members of the staff,

²¹ Edward G. Olsen, *School and Community*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945, p. 11.

and maintains only those personnel policies which are consistent with the school's purposes.

13. The community school maintains democratic pupil-teacher-administrator relationships.

14. The community school creates, and operates in, a situation where there is high expectancy of what good schools can do to improve community living.

15. The community school buildings, equipment, and grounds are so designed, constructed, and used as to make it possible to provide for children, youth, and adults those experiences in community living which are not adequately provided by agencies other than the school.

16. The community school budget is the financial plan for translating into reality the educational program which the school board, staff members, students, and other citizens have agreed upon as desirable for their community.²²

Olsen suggests ten "bridges" between school and community. Ranged in ascending order these are: documentary materials, audio-visual aids, resource visitors, interviews, field trips, surveys, extended field study, camping, service projects, and work experience.

That school programs should be planned in relationship to the community is generally recognized. Parents and other laymen should have a part in shaping the school program. Such coöperation works to the mutual advantage of both school and community. The community offers resources and persons and materials that can be brought to bear on school experiences; and the school through its study of the needs of the community can discover and interpret the needs of children, adapt learning activities to local conditions and resources, and serve as an agency for the social betterment of the community. In *School and Community Programs* Olsen presents case examples of successful community-school projects in various subject fields and at all academic levels.

This is a step in the direction of the third relation between school and community, the education-centered community. No community has really achieved this goal, although a few have moved in this direction. The education-centered community is the goal of social reconstruction. "As more and more communities reach this mature stage of modern human development, *the people*, self-con-

²² Edward G. Olsen, *School and Community Programs*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949, pp. xiii-xiv.

sciously aware of their culture and their personal and social growth, *will understand that all the social processes of a democratic society ARE education, and they will deliberately organize their government and all community enterprises in terms of education.* We shall then think and live in terms of the education-centered community."²³

This is the ideal of "ultimate social integration" advocated in *The Teacher and Society* (First Yearbook of the John Dewey Society). To quote:

It is not enough to provide purified play-models of life within school walls. The surrounding community life remains far more potent educationally than our school surrogates. The educator's task is to make the community educative in the best sense of the term. If the community were providing the most valuable kind of health service, school health programs would not be needed. Children would, in the normal process of growing up, eat, sleep, wash, play, and learn to use dental and medical service. It is better to organize stores which serve the consumer and which educate adult and child in the real values of goods, than to continue in outside life merchandising solely for private profit and to try in classrooms to counteract the bad effects by educating children to be discriminating purchasers. Actual work in the community can be made interesting, thought-provoking, conducive to physical well-being, esthetic satisfaction, and social intercourse. If it is not, the educator should not be content to build a school program however rich in these values, and then to send pupils out into the impoverished work-life. Work is an important form—perhaps the most important form—of living. Vocational education is best given in the work itself. A community life which rates human values first will come to organize its work so as to give to every child, every young man and woman, every father and mother, and every old or ill or handicapped person the kind of work which can contribute most to personal and social well-being.

We look forward to a society in which the daily life of the people affords a good curriculum for both childhood and adult education. The classroom will also be a part of that life. We expect to reach no fixed and static perfection. There will always be need for some coming aside from the immediate task to gain perspective. Schools select from the whole actual environment and devise most favorable conditions for analysis, demonstration, criticism, and inspiration. Schools afford only part

²³ Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education*, World Book Company, 1947, p. 684.

of education in any society, but even in the most highly desirable society we are ever likely to achieve there will be a need for something like schools and teachers to bring into focus, to clarify and simplify and bring out the essentials of a problem. Perhaps the teachers will some day do much more of their teaching outside of classroom walls. The teachers of the community of the future may include also the doctors, artists, architects, building foremen, housewives, factory managers, recreational leaders, theatrical producers, clerks in stores, radio announcers, and all the other persons who create and interpret the culture. Teaching may become an aspect of many kinds of work, rather than an exclusive, specialized occupation. Some teaching will be done in schools, but much more of life will be consciously educative.²⁴

SUMMARY

All groups have processes for inducting the young into their cultural heritage. In our society the school is the special, though not the sole, agency for carrying on education. In this chapter we have discussed the educational role of the school, home, church, agencies of mass communication—press, motion pictures, radio, and television—youth-serving organizations, youth centers, children's camps, and the community.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Mrs. Douglas Horton, former president of Wellesley College, said in a radio broadcast: "Expecting schools to be all things to all men has minimized the time available for doing the things that schools are theoretically better able to do than the other institutions. As it is, intellectual discipline has become almost an accident in the life of the ordinary boy and girl." Support or refute her contention.
2. In an editorial in *Life*, October 16, 1950, Henry Steele Commager wrote: "Schools reflect the society they serve. Many of the failures we ascribe to contemporary education are in fact failures of our society as a whole." Cite examples to illustrate Commager's point of view.
3. How may activities of school and community be interrelated in a program of education? How may people be induced to take an intelligent interest in their schools?
4. Read ten or more comic books. Tabulate material which might encourage high ideals and desirable conduct, and that which might lead

²⁴ William H. Kilpatrick (ed.), *The Teacher and Society*, First Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1937, pp. 253-254.

- to any form of delinquency. Propose ways of counteracting the effects of undesirable material. From your analysis of these comic books, do you think that John Mason Brown is justified in labeling comics "the marijuana of the nursery" and "the bane of the bassinet"?
5. Listen to several radio programs or watch television programs intended primarily for children. List their good and bad features.
 6. Should schools or commercial firms be responsible for education on television?
 7. Examine catalogues of different types of children's camps. Note differences in purposes and programs. Catalogues may be secured from the American Camping Association, 343 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
 8. Describe your experiences in participating in community activities in your home town. How many of the activities in your community are intended primarily for young people? Suggest ways of increasing their effectiveness. What part should the school have in sponsoring these activities?

Schools and the Democratic Ideal

IN CHAPTER II we pointed out that the school has its origin in the desire of society to transmit the cultural heritage to the younger generation. "The school is," to quote Dewey, "the essential distributing agency for whatever values and purposes any social group cherishes. It is not the only means, but it is the first means, the primary means, and the most deliberate means by which the values that any social group cherishes, the purposes that it wishes to realize, are distributed and brought home to the thought, the observation, judgment, and choice of the individual."

Accordingly, in order to understand the school, we must consider it in relation to its social setting. It reflects the ideology of the group. It directs its energies toward teaching knowledge, skills, and general patterns of conduct approved by the culture of which it is a part. Its success is judged by the degree to which the younger generation acquires these outcomes of learning.

Our schools were established to function in the social-cultural order of America. Some aspects of our culture were mentioned in Chapter I. Varied as these aspects are, one characteristic—general belief in democracy—is dominant. Hence, ideals of democracy color the character of our education. We look to the school to promote understanding and appreciation of the democratic tradition. We expect the school to aid pupils in acquiring skills, knowledge, and desire not only to preserve but also to improve our way of life.

If the school is to prepare pupils to live effectively in a democratic society, educators must seek to understand the meaning of democracy. Upon their interpretation depend the organization and administration of school systems, formulation of objectives, choice of portions of the cultural heritage to be stressed, attitude toward social change, and selection of methods and materials of instruction.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

Democracy is an elusive term. In the original Greek it meant government of the people. How many people should have a part in the government and how they should govern in order to have a democracy have never been definitely decided.

Even in America the idea of who should vote has gradually changed. The framers of the Constitution had no idea of giving all the people the ballot. They feared popular rule. For the common man without property the right to vote was fairly long delayed. New York abolished property qualifications for white men in 1826 after a petition containing 75,000 names was submitted. In Rhode Island property qualifications were abolished in 1842 after a kind of civil war known as Dorr's Rebellion. Votes for colored men were made possible by the Fifteenth Amendment. Votes for women were sanctioned in 1920 by the Nineteenth Amendment.

Since the founding of our country we have been concerned with perfecting political democracy. We have striven for rule by the majority, protection of the rights of the minority, and the coöperative solution of problems. In short, we have sought what Lincoln described as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Perhaps our concern for political democracy has been prompted by the belief that, given political democracy, we could work out our other problems. In the early history of our country there was considerable justification for this point of view. With changes in our society, however, it has become necessary to broaden our concept of democracy to include phases other than political democracy.

Today we often say that democracy is more than institutions and ways of life. "It is a great social faith which, in response to the yearnings and struggles of many races and peoples, has been developing through the centuries." In this sense it includes not only political but also economic and social democracy.

We shall consider briefly some of the implications of economic and social democracy.

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CHAPTER III

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ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY

Economic democracy means security in a mutually interdependent society. Everyone must have an opportunity to obtain through his

own efforts the material goods necessary for maintaining a suitable standard of living. The worker should help in determining working conditions and should receive a fair share of the wealth that he helps to produce. Natural resources must be used wisely for the benefit of all. So great is the power bestowed by wealth that without economic democracy social justice can scarcely prevail.

That economic democracy is an unrealized ideal is indicated by the maldistribution of wealth. Many people have inadequate diets, substandard housing, and low incomes.

Inequality of income is shown by the Economic Report of the President to Congress on January 14, 1948. This report gives the

TABLE 5. Family Income in the United States by Income Levels¹
(In Dollars of 1946 Purchasing Power)

Family Income Levels	Average Money Income Before Taxes			Percent Increases	
	1935-36	1941	1946	1935-36 to 1946	1941 to 1946
Lowest fifth	\$ 446	\$ 498	\$ 835	87	68
Second fifth	969	1275	2023	109	59
Third fifth	1515	2243	3050	101	36
Fourth fifth	2284	3225	4201	84	30
Highest fifth	5928	7418	8921	50	20
Average for all	2229	2932	3806	71	30

average income for families, including single individuals, for three different periods. All the figures are in dollars of 1946 purchasing power. As will be seen from Table 5, "the highest fifth of the families in the country can be expected to have incomes that average more than 10 times as high as the average of the bottom fifth—13 times as high in 1935-1936, 15 times in 1941, and nearly 11 times in 1946. The top fifth averages three or four times as high as the middle fifth. Apparently 60 or 70 percent of the families have incomes lower than the general average (the arithmetic mean) for all families. Four fifths of the families are included within a range of \$5000 or less, and the top fifth spans a range of more than \$1,000,000."²

In the early history of our country the government was expected

¹ From Shorey Peterson, *Economics*, Henry Holt and Company, 1949.

² *Ibid.*, p. 636.

to remain aloof in economic matters. As long as frontier life with its self-contained rural civilization prevailed, the government could properly maintain a "hands-off" policy. The American people, says Perry, felt "that they were quite competent to look out for their own happiness if only they were let alone to do it, and that government could best serve their happiness by seeing to it that they *were* let alone. Government was designed to afford the maximum of free-play to those motives and forces by which self-reliant individuals carve out their own fortunes."

The right of the individual to exercise his own initiative to advance his economic interests was taken for granted. Lincoln expressed this point of view in a speech at New Haven in 1860:

I take it that it is best to leave each man to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we don't propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with anybody else. When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor for his whole life . . . he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterwards and finally hire men to work for him. That is the true system.

The problems of economic democracy, however, are tremendously complicated in the United States. No longer is each family practically a self-sufficient unit. No longer is production carried on chiefly for the family group. A striking illustration of the change is contained in the following description:

The Vermont farmer, with his small property, his poor, rocky soil, and his very short growing season, has been specializing in dairy farming ever since the refrigerated railroad car made possible long-distance transportation of milk and milk products. But during the past twenty-five years the character of his specialization has been changing profoundly. Where before he specialized in a product, he can now—with little exaggeration—be said to specialize in one process. He no longer grows his own fodder. In many cases he no longer raises his own calves. He feeds fodder grown in the Midwest and South to cows bought from a breeder. He also no longer processes the milk. He delivers the raw milk to a creamery which processes it and delivers it to a distributor. The distribution of this apparently so simple product requires actually one of

the most complicated organizations in our entire economy—and one based on such mass-production principles as the breakdown of the operation into simple component operations, the synchronization of the flow of materials and sub-assemblies, and the interchangeability of component parts.

The farmer does not even make his own butter; the butter he buys comes from Wisconsin or Iowa, fifteen hundred miles away. Sometimes it is not even economical for the farmer to keep his own milk for his own consumption but cheaper to buy his supply in the store. Outwardly little seems to have changed, but actually the Vermont dairy farmer—or the Iowa corn-hog farmer, the Minnesota wheat farmer, the citrus grower in California—has become a link in an agricultural assembly line. It would be difficult to say who his “management” is or where it is, but he is surely being managed. His processes, his policies, very largely even his actual operations are laid out for him by the machinery over which he has very little control. The only positive action left for him is to go on a “milk strike”—the very term is significant. The farmer’s relationship to the economy and to society has become increasingly remote as well as increasingly complex. Almost as much as the man on the automobile assembly line he needs to understand what he is doing and why, and it is almost as hard for him to obtain a view of the whole as it is for an accountant in Washington.³

Not only is the family no longer independent, but even the local community is no longer self-sufficient. The changes brought about by the transformation of our economic system by modern technology baffle the imagination. The invention of hundreds of machines has revolutionized manufacturing. The central factory with its economical and efficient production has replaced or integrated independent industries. Responsibility for production is often in the hands of mammoth enterprises.

A comprehensive view of the size of enterprises in the leading fields of activity in the United States is given in Table 6. In it are represented 594 corporations with gross assets in excess of \$50,000,000.

Peterson points out that “for each type of industry the figures show the percentage of total productive activity performed by unincorporated firms, which are mainly very small, and the percentages

³ Peter F. Drucker, “The New Society,” *Harper’s Magazine*, September, 1949, p. 29.

performed by each of four groups of incorporated firms, arranged by sizes. The size of corporations is measured in gross assets, and productive activity is measured just about as national income is computed."⁴

TABLE 6. Percentage of Production of Main Industry Groups⁵

Industry	Unincorporated Firms	Corporations with Total Assets			
		Less than \$1,000,000	\$1,000,000-5,000,000	\$5,000,000-50,000,000	\$50,000,000 and over
Agriculture	94	3.1	2.9		
Mining	4	19.8	15.4	60.8	
Manufacturing	8	24.3	14.3	20.0	33.4
Construction	67	23.4	5.0	4.6	
Transportation and other utilities	14	6.5	2.9	11.1	65.5
Trade	37	37.0	9.5	9.1	7.4
Service	67	19.3	5.0	8.7	
Finance	44	16.0	9.0	14.0	17.0
Miscellaneous	62	28.2	9.8		
All activities except government	38	21.8	8.6	11.6	20.0

Peterson further shows the size of firms in various fields in this way:

Several studies have been made of the 200 largest nonfinancial corporations in the United States—that is, in fields other than banking and insurance. They extend in size—or did before the war—from less than \$100,000,000 of gross assets to about \$4,000,000,000 in the case of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Almost half of the 200 are railroads and other utilities, and the greater part of the other half are manufacturing companies. Nine railroads, headed by the Pennsylvania and the New York Central, are in the billion-dollar class, and along with A.T. and T., the public utilities include five billion-dollar power and gas companies—or did before certain dismemberments took place. There are three billion-dollar manufacturing companies—Standard Oil of New Jersey, United States Steel, and General Motors. In merchandising, along with the numerous small firms, three types of large enterprise have developed: the mail-order house, the chain organization, and the department store. Representatives of each category appear

⁴ Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

among the 200, but none, unless recently, has exceeded a quarter-billion of gross assets.

Measured in gross assets, the size of firms increased sharply during the war period, partly through acquisition of real assets, partly through expanded holdings of cash and government securities, partly through the rise in prices. A study made of 1000 large manufacturing firms, representing fully half of all manufacturing, showed that their total assets in 1946 were 50 percent greater than in 1939. Only a small part of this increase, and none of it up to 1945, was in the value of plant and equipment.

Firms may be measured also, not in absolute units, but on the basis of their *relative size in relation to the industry* of which they are a part. Thus it could be said before the war that one firm in each field produced most of the aluminum, nickel, molybdenum, magnesium, shoe machinery, and glass-container machinery; two firms most of the bananas, plate glass, electric bulbs, electric accounting machines, and sulphur. The four largest firms in each industry produced more than 90 percent of the chewing gum and cigarettes; more than 80 percent of the motor vehicles, explosives, linoleum, rubber tires, and tin cans; more than 70 percent of the oleomargarine, soap, farm implements, and matches. At the other extreme, the four largest firms produced less than 5 percent of the women's and children's clothing, fur goods, printing and publishing, and lumber products, and less than 10 percent of the men's and boys' clothing, furniture, housefurnishings, and jewelry. This method of measurement is less significant in analyzing the economies of size than in appraising the degree of monopoly and competition in industry.⁶

In such an economy the idea of a laissez-faire system with complete freedom of competition becomes outmoded. Mere absence of restraint no longer suffices. Instead some measure of control is necessary in order that all may have an equal opportunity for freedom. "Hence," concludes Perry, "the increasing tendency of government to intervene in business—to regulate, or even control."

The role that the government should play in our economy is demanding the attention of our best thinkers. Just how much freedom can be given up in the economic realm while retaining freedom in the political realm is a basic question. On the one hand, we have a case for planning in such a book as *The Good Society* by Walter Lippmann. On the other hand, we have the case against planning

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

in such books as *The Road to Serfdom* by Friederich A. von Hayek and *Ordeal by Planning* by John Jewkes.

Eisenhower took cognizance of the changing role of government in his inaugural address at Columbia University:

A paternalistic government can gradually destroy, by suffocation in the immediate advantage of subsidy, the will of a people to maintain a high degree of individual responsibility. And the abdication of individual responsibility is inevitably followed by further concentration of power in the state. Government ownership or control of property is not to be decried principally because of the historic inefficiency of governmental management of productive enterprises; its real threat rests in the fact that, if carried to the logical extreme, the final concentration of ownership in the hands of government gives to it, in all practical effects, absolute power over our lives.

There are internal dangers that require eternal vigilance if they are to be avoided. If we permit extremes of wealth for a few and enduring poverty for many, we shall create social explosiveness and a demand for revolutionary change. If we do not eliminate selfish abuse of power by any one group, we can be certain that equally selfish retaliation by other groups will ensue. Never must we forget that ready cooperation in the solution of human problems is the only way to avoid governmental intervention.

All our cherished rights—the rights of free speech, free worship, ownership of property, equality before the law—all these are mutually dependent for their existence. Thus, when shallow critics denounce the profit motive inherent in our system of private enterprise, they ignore the fact that it is an economic support of every human right we possess and that without it, all rights would soon disappear. Demagoguery, un- and that combatted by truth, can become as great a danger to freedom as exists in any other threat.⁷

Still another warning against the possible loss of freedom that might result from governmental planning is given by Peter Viereck: "If you base society solely on the idea of economic gains, scrapping freedom and justice for the sake of the tyranny needed to organize total planning, then you lose not only the freedom but the economic gains. In place of the economic philosophy of Adam Smith or of Marx, the world through trial and error will come to see the *economic*

⁷ Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Notes for Inaugural Address," *Educational Forum*, January, 1949, pp. 135-136.

necessity of an anti-economic philosophy, the material necessity of anti-materialism."⁸

Whether or not a solution to our pressing economic problems can be found may determine whether democracy can survive. Whether we can assure economic opportunity while keeping a suitable balance between responsibility for the welfare of the group and the responsibility of the individual for the results of his own efforts may determine the very existence of our form of government. Almost any form of government will work as long as basic human needs are met. But, as Counts insists, "the experience of our time shows that, if a people is forced to choose between jobs and political liberty, they will choose jobs, or the promise of jobs. The peculiar task of our people in the present age is to demonstrate that economic stability and political liberty are both possible at the same time. Only through the achievement of such a union can our democracy hope to endure."

We now turn from this discussion of economic democracy to a consideration of social democracy.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

Social democracy is based upon the ideal of justice and welfare for all. There shall be no class distinction based on inheritance. Everyone shall have the right to make a place for himself by his efforts and ability. There shall be no unfair discrimination and no oppression because of race, class, color, or creed.

Such is the ideal Walt Whitman had in mind when he wrote in *Song of Myself*:

Whoever degrades another degrades me,
And whatever is done or said returns at last to me.

I speak the pass-word primeval—I give the sign of democracy,
By God! I will accept nothing which all cannot have their
counterpart of on the same terms.

Such is the ideal set forth in the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. The report declares: "We can tolerate no restrictions upon the individual which depend upon irrelevant fac-

⁸ Peter Viereck, "Conservatism Revisited," *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1949, p. 65.

tors such as his race, his color, his religion, or the social position to which he is born."

That our ideal of social democracy is far from realized goes without saying. Some of our ethnic groups, especially Orientals, Negroes, and Jews, are objects of discrimination and prejudice. In international councils we are in a vulnerable position when we try to defend the rights of colored and colonial people beyond our borders. Once when Gandhi was asked how we could best help India he replied, "By solving the Negro problem in America."

To what extent democracy can insure equality in the social or in any other realm is a moot question. One point of view is stated in the following excerpt: "Above all, American democracy is not, never was, and never can be a guarantor of equality. On the contrary, it is a guarantor of essential inequality, for its function is to release the talents with which men are endowed; and the moment talents are allowed full play men become unequal. Democracy can guarantee equality before the law, but that is a tiny part of the whole field of human relations; and to a limited extent it may guarantee equality of opportunity, although the founders of American democracy did not believe that that could or should be carried far."⁹

Although we have stressed political, economic, and social aspects of democracy, there are still other phases that might well occupy our attention. By way of summary let us list some "articles of democratic faith."

"First, the individual human being is of surpassing worth.

"Second, the earth and human culture belong to all men.

"Third, men can and should rule themselves.

"Fourth, the human mind can be trusted and should be set free.

"Fifth, the method of peace is superior to that of war.

"Sixth, racial, cultural, and political minorities should be tolerated, respected, and valued."

Even the foregoing statements should not be regarded as final. The concept of democracy is ever changing. As long as people have new needs and as long as they have new thoughts, the last word will not be said on the subject. In the words of Henry W. Holmes:

⁹ Gerald W. Johnson, "Overloaded Democracy," *Harper's Magazine*, September, 1949, p. 84.

"Democracy is not finished. It is the nature of democracy not to be finished. Democracy is a way of finding out the best thing to do. It is a way of tackling problems, not a set of solutions to problems."

NEED FOR EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

The fact that democracy is never finished implies the paramount importance of education for its perpetuation. It is not won once and for all and passed on automatically. Instead it must be continually won and continually improved by the efforts of each generation.

The founding fathers recognized that being born into a democracy does not give the ability to keep it alive. They saw clearly the need for education.

Washington, in his first annual message to Congress in 1790, declared: "There is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential."

In his Farewell Address to the American people, written in 1796, Washington said: "Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened."

John Adams likewise stressed the need for education: "Education is more indispensable, and must be more general under a free government than any other. In a monarchy, the few who are likely to govern must have some education, but the common people must be kept in ignorance; in an aristocracy, the nobles should be educated but here it is even more necessary that the common people should be ignorant, but in a free government knowledge must be general, and ought to be universal."

In 1816 after his retirement from the Presidency, Jefferson asserted: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. . . . There is no safe deposit [for the functions of government], but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information."

These and other early leaders envisioned the public schools as institutions to insure the success of democracy by preparing citizens to discharge their duties intelligently.

As the years passed, some people failed to see as clearly as did our early national leaders the relationship between education and democracy. Some came to regard education as a means of enabling the individual to further his own interests.

Discerning statesmen, however, have continued to stress the significance of education not only for the individual but for the state. For example, Theodore Roosevelt once said: "Each one of us, then, who has an education, school or college, has obtained something free from the community at large for which he or she has not paid, and no self-respecting man or woman is content to rest permanently under such an obligation. Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship."

The idea that schools are primarily for the general welfare of society rather than for the benefit of the individual has always been upheld by the courts. Their decisions have held that schools are established in the interests of all. For example, half a century ago the Supreme Court of Connecticut ruled as follows:

"Free schooling furnished by the state is not so much a right granted to pupils as a duty imposed upon them for the public good. If they do not voluntarily attend the schools provided for them, they may be compelled to do so. While most people regard the public schools as the means of great personal advantage to the pupils, the fact is often overlooked that they are governmental means of protecting the state from the consequences of an ignorant and incompetent citizenship."

Later the Illinois Supreme Court ruled that "the conduct and maintenance of schools by school directors, school trustees, and boards" is in the same class with the performance of many other duties by public officials, which, "however beneficial to individuals, are not undertaken from philanthropic or charitable motives, but for the protection, safety, and welfare of the citizens of the State in the interests of good government."

The significance of organized education in preparing people to

carry on their duties in a democratic government is summarized by Beard in this way: "As organized education turns toward the future, then, it discards the theory of automatic democracy. It recognizes the rights to life, liberty, property, work, and the pursuit of happiness are shadows unless those who claim the rights are competent and have the moral power necessary to the creation and maintenance of the social arrangements in which rights may be realized."

ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN PREPARING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENS

Since democratic ideals and practices are not inherited biologically, the school has a heavy responsibility for preparing pupils for intelligent citizenship in a democracy. The kind of education necessary to accomplish this needs special consideration.

The American people, with their almost unlimited faith in the power of education, seem to take for granted that any kind of education liberates the mind and advances the cause of human freedom. They assume that it is beneficial for democracies but dangerous for despotisms.

In fact, many people do not yet realize that the idea of education for the masses is now accepted in authoritarian as well as democratic societies. From 1920 to 1940 the Axis powers spent large sums on education. The Soviet Union, too, witnessed a period of educational expansion. Enrollment in schools of all grades in the USSR increased from approximately 8 or 9 million to more than 30 million.

The vast difference in education in autocracies and in democracies lies in the nature of the education. In the former, education glorifies docility and unquestioned acceptance of the prevailing order. In the latter, education emphasizes "(1) ability to analyze problems involved in group living in order to make intelligent judgments; (2) ability to appraise men and women, in order to be intelligent in the selection of honest and capable representatives; (3) discipline and practice in taking democratic group action."¹⁰ A succinct presentation of contrasts in education in dictatorships and democracies follows:¹¹

¹⁰ John W. Studebaker, "Contrasts in Education," *Journal of the National Education Association*, October, 1948, p. 420.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 420-421.

In Democracies

A school for democracy—The school itself is democratically organized with students, teachers, and parents participating in the planning of the group life, the school program, and class activities. This democratic procedure is begun in the kindergarten and gradually elaborated as the learners grow up.

The open mind—Distinctions are made between demonstrable truth—such as the fact that the world is round—and debatable areas of knowledge—such as economic theories. Learners are exposed to different points of view and interpretations in science, history, sociology, economics, and literature.

Respect for differences of opinion—Learners are trained in best methods of collecting, analyzing, organizing facts, reviewing conflicting opinions and interpretations, discussing alternative proposals; are encouraged to come to their own conclusions and respect others' right to come to different conclusions.

Critical students of propaganda—The tricks of propaganda are studied and students given experience in comparing and analyzing conflicting propagandas. They are taught the rules of evidence and learn to apply them in controversial subjects.

Premium on originality and tolerance—Originality, differences, in-

In Dictatorships

A school for dictatorship—The school is organized by the headmaster, who takes his orders from the educational dictator in the government. Teachers take orders from the master and the learners from the teacher. This habituates everyone to the "*leader-precept*"—power at the top, obedience at the bottom.

The dogmatic decree—The "truth" in all essential questions is predetermined by the dictatorship. The teachers drill the minds of the learners to accept the views of the high command. Nothing significant is debatable. The mind that gets out of step with the mind of the dictator is punished.

Planned hatred of those who doubt—The learners are regarded as receptacles into which approved knowledge is to be poured by the dictatorship via the transmission line—the teacher. Pupils are taught to adopt the dictator's conclusions unquestioningly, and to hate and persecute anyone who does question them.

Blind followers of propaganda—The school is merely an arm of the central ministry of propaganda. The students are expected to become expert proselyters and carriers of the propaganda into the home and community.

Glorification of docility and intolerance—Uniformity, obedience,

initiative, fair play, and tolerance are cultivated as desirable attributes of the democratic spirit. Learners are encouraged to respect rules, democratically imposed, and authority, democratically selected. Youth are taught good sportsmanship.

Personal freedom exalted—Youth and adults study the history of the age-old struggle for civil and religious liberty. The schools promote understanding of the meaning of our freedoms, of the rights, privileges, and responsibilities of individuals expressed and implied in the Bill of Rights. The educational system develops a determination to defend these liberties.

Enlightenment thru radio and motion pictures—Modern methods of communication are used to spread enlightenment, increase the reach of great teachers, and make problems and alternative solutions more understandable. Educators guard against use of these instruments as centralized means of spreading propaganda.

Variety of reading encouraged—More attention is paid to books. Classroom libraries and collateral reading are encouraged, to expose learners to the thinking of many writers with different outlooks. Less reliance is put on single books and more time given to the reading of supplementary books, pamphlets, and magazines.

Teachers free to teach the truth—Public-school teachers are not re-

intolerance are engendered. Differences in thinking and acting are penalized. Youth are taught to win approved objectives by any means, give opponents no quarter, and violate the rules in the interest of victory. "The end justifies the means."

Personal freedom denounced—The rights of free speech, press and assembly, petition, fair trial, religious freedom, and suffrage are bitterly denounced. Opportunities to study the history of tyranny and the principles of individual liberty are denied. Civil liberty is interpreted to the people as a subversive, traitorous thing.

To secure uniformity of opinion—The motion pictures and radio are major devices for molding all minds to the same pattern of thought and opinion. The most effective devices of propaganda are employed thru these media, which are centrally controlled and carefully censored.

Unapproved books banned—Only the books approved by the dictatorships are offered to the learners. Books which encourage freedom of thought or express philosophies contrary to that of the dictatorship are condemned and burned. People who are caught with them are imprisoned.

Teachers required to propagandize—Teachers are required to im-

quired to belong to a particular party or church or race. They are expected to be good teachers in the sense that they help the learners at all points to understand the subject. Teachers refrain from interfering with the right of the learners to explore significant and honest data and to evaluate different points of view.

pose the conclusions prescribed by the central ministry of education, an arm of the party in power. Teachers whose opinions are in conflict with the approved conclusions are not only dismissed, but are likely to be imprisoned or exiled. Some of the world's greatest teachers and thinkers now live in democracies as refugees from dictatorships.

To be assured of an appropriate kind of education, we may well heed the following advice:

They [the American people] should pass their entire system of theory and practice under careful scrutiny with a view to bringing it into more complete and direct harmony with the articles of the democratic faith. They should fashion an education conceived in the spirit of that faith and devoted to its defense and further realization—an education designed to prepare their children to guard, to live in, and to develop a free society. More particularly they should fashion an education frankly and systematically designed to give to the rising generation the loyalties, the knowledge, the discipline of free men. In a word, the American public school, through its life and program, should proceed deliberately to foster and strengthen all those physical, intellectual, and moral traits which are the substances of democracy—to incorporate into the behavior of boys and girls and youth the great patterns of democratic living and faith.¹²

DESIRABLE BEHAVIOR RESPONSES IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

If boys and girls are to learn patterns of democratic living and faith, teachers must set up appropriate goals. The goals may be expressed in various ways. A helpful approach is to state them in terms of behavior judged best in a democratic society. The staff of the public schools of Winnetka, Illinois, tried to analyze components of socially desirable educational goals and to show kinds of behavior that indicate child growth toward these goals. To illustrate:¹³

¹² National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy*, 1941, p. 50.

¹³ Harold G. Shane, "Experience as Subject Matter," *Progressive Education*, March, 1949, pp. 146-147.

FIRST BASIC OBJECTIVE: *To develop devotion to democracy and insight into democratic values in a world matrix.*

SPECIFIC COMPONENTS

- To deepen and widen social identification.
- To cultivate awareness of and concern for social problems created by:
 - social,
 - political,
 - economic, and
 - technological changes.
- To minimize prejudices.
- To develop appreciation of others and respect for their rights.
- To develop and encourage responsible freedom and expression. (A child is increasingly free to the degree to which self-responsibility is assumed.)
- To recognize and develop leadership as a group function. (As each person contributes suggestions for the solution of a common problem, he is for the time being a leader.)
- To cultivate the disposition to act courageously in accordance with one's convictions.
- To develop convictions in the direction of more democratic values.
- To improve the community through the operation of the school program.
- To help children recognize as good those elements in our way of life that are democratic.

BEHAVIORAL RESPONSES

- WORKS coöperatively with others in a group.
- PARTICIPATES in activities of his group.
- GIVES service, progressing from responding to requests to voluntarily assuming tasks.
- SHARES in reaching decisions that affect the group and ASSUMES a fair portion of responsibility for carrying them through.
- SHARES possessions and experiences with his group.
- CONTRIBUTES to solving group problems through offering ideas and materials.
- RESPONDS with more understanding toward an individual when the causes for his behavior are explained.
- ABIDES by majority decisions.
- SHOWS respect for the right of individuals to express minority opinions.
- EXPRESSES appreciation for contributions of others.
- EXPRESSES satisfaction in the accomplishments of his group.
- DOES unsupervised work with increasing success.
- APPRAISES new developments in terms of their inherent values

To give children experiences in the organizations and techniques of democratic social control and to encourage social inventiveness.

To develop faith in the aggregate ability of people to move toward socially desirable, democratic goals.

rather than in terms of traditional habits and patterns of response and ideas.

SHOWS progressive improvement in acting courageously upon democratic convictions.

OPPOSES actions detrimental to the common welfare.

SHOWS concern about ways of improving the conditions of living together in widening social groups—family, play, class, school, community, etc.—and INITIATES action in bringing about such improvements.

INITIATES group discussion of problems of common concern.

It will be noted that these aims stress appreciation of democratic values as well as knowledge about democracy and skills or techniques of practice. Such emphasis is important because appreciation of democracy does not necessarily result from knowledge or skills.

MEANS OF HELPING PUPILS ATTAIN DESIRABLE BEHAVIOR RESPONSES

In order to help pupils attain desirable behavior responses, attention must be given to (1) selection of suitable subject matter, (2) provision of experiences in democratic living, (3) maintenance of a democratic atmosphere in the school, and (4) evaluation of school practices and outcomes of learning.

Selection of Suitable Subject Matter. One of the ways in which the aims of teaching democratic citizenship may be realized is through choice of suitable curriculum content. Material may be drawn from many subject-matter areas, such as literature, painting, music, and social studies.

In the choice of materials we must represent fairly various points of view on controversial issues. As John De Boer reminds us:

American schools have the responsibility of educating for democracy. They do not have the responsibility of indoctrinating in behalf of capi-

talism, or the FCC, or the FHA, or the Federal Reserve system, or our present foreign policy. These are matters which the school must help young people to understand, but the school owes no fixed allegiance to them. Our democracy must be a changing, growing democracy, and every effort to freeze its institutions through education in behalf of the status quo can eventuate only in the death of democracy.

Education for democracy implies that the school will consciously and systematically cultivate in youth a deep devotion to the fundamental values of the democratic society. The social arrangements and structures by which these values are to be achieved must always remain within the realm of free controversy. The school in a democracy is committed to a belief in the essential worth and dignity of the common man, in the freedoms of thought and speech and assembly and worship and association, in equality of economic and educational opportunity, in security and peace. It is not committed to any system of planning or lack of planning, to any specific kind of legislation or lack of legislation.¹⁴

While information about democracy alone will not lead to behavior patterns acceptable in a democracy or to appreciation of democracy, it is none the less essential. Bradley points out that during World War II many of our young troops were political illiterates who understood neither the great spiritual possessions to which we are born nor the threat facing free, democratic self-government.

The blame does not lie on education alone. It must be shared with the people as a whole. Their shocking apathy to the sterility of their school curricula is responsible even today for the political immaturity, the economic ignorance, the philosophical indifference and the spiritual insolvency of so many young men. Throughout Europe, wherever our armies were stationed, the people were bewildered by Americans who appeared indifferent to the political and philosophical origins and nature of the most powerful and progressive nation in the world. When driven into a corner intellectually our soldiers were forced to fall back on our wage scales, our automobiles, our refrigerators—and eventually and triumphantly to the American bathroom—for their defense. Here is an indictment not only of American education but of irresponsible citizens who have permitted this vacuum to remain.¹⁵

¹⁴ John J. De Boer, "Communism and Fascism in the Schools," *School and Society*, October 29, 1949, p. 273.

¹⁵ Omar N. Bradley, "What We Owe Our Country," *Reader's Digest*, August, 1949, p. 3.

Totalitarian states recognize the expediency of choosing material that will teach their doctrines. In *I Want To Be Like Stalin* the program for indoctrination in Russian schools is clearly set forth. The values of school subjects are stated in terms of their contribution to Russian ideology. A few illustrations will make apparent the penetration of Soviet moral doctrine into every phase of education.

The teaching of history, according to the authors, "possesses exceptional significance for the education of the growing generation in communism." Study of the past will give children "pictures of the exploitation, the oppression, the backwardness, and the humiliation of the workers under the czarist autocracy . . . an understanding of the achievements of the socialist revolution and of the heroic battle waged by their fathers and grandfathers for their freedom . . . a desire to continue the work of their fathers in building a communist society in the Soviet Union." The study of the past "cultivates in children high idealism and deep devotion to the interests of the working people, irreconcilability toward all reactionary forces, and resoluteness, courage, and bravery in the struggle for the finest ideals of humanity, for communism." History prepares the young to "realize the great historic role of the Party of Bolsheviks in the struggle for the liberation of the workers of all the peoples of our land of many nationalities from exploitation and oppression, from national and religious persecution." History also inspires children "with deep love for the highly gifted leaders of the proletarian revolution—Lenin and Stalin." These "greatest leaders of history" struggled "supremely, unswervingly, persistently, and stubbornly" against "all enemies of the people" and "brought our country to the victory of socialism."

In the selection of the materials to be used in his daily work in any subject the teacher is admonished to make his choices "in full accord with the purposes of communist education." Thus, among subjects for essays "he selects stories about the exploits of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War and the extraordinary deeds of people capable of sacrificing personal interests for the common good." In the field of mathematics the teacher chooses or devises "problems which involve calculations relating to the rural economy, which teach pupils to save state pennies in industry and daily life, or which instruct in the application of mathematical knowledge to military affairs." These problems "must reflect our socialist reality" and make the pupil "realize that mathematics is necessary for technics, for production, and for the strengthening of the de-

fense of the socialist Motherland." Finally, the teacher is told that pupils must be trained in auditory discrimination so that they may be able "to hear the faintest sounds, even to a barely perceptible rustling," because "in modern warfare the future defender of the Motherland, and particularly the scout, must possess such powers."¹⁶

Undoubtedly, with proper education, American youth can be taught to appreciate their own culture. As Judge Florence Allen puts it:

We have failed to make use of the vivid and inspiring material which lies at hand to stir up our citizens, young and old, to an understanding of and a devoted love for the democratic system. Here in the United States, we have as dramatic an opportunity to vivify life, through ethical group action, as the world has ever known. Any intelligent boy and girl can understand what it means that not so very long before our Constitution, historically speaking, a man was executed in England for writing a book that was never published that the Parliament, instead of the King, should be supreme; and that the judge charged the jury in that case that this book contains all malice and revenge that are ever possible because it sets the Parliament above the King. Any intelligent boy or girl, given the sense of ownership of America and of partnership in its great undertakings, would thrill to the fact that the property qualification was rejected when the Constitution was written.

Every intelligent boy and girl, given the sense of partnership, can understand that when the First Amendment to the Constitution was written, a mighty landmark was established in human freedom. Every intelligent boy and girl can understand that when this amendment was written, freedom of religion did not exist, not even in this country—that members of many sects had been harried and humiliated and beaten, put in jail, and hanged, and that in other countries of the world they had been subjected to all sorts of indignities and death; and that here, by some miracle, we wrote in the First Amendment that there should be no established religion nor any prohibition of the free exercise of religion. We have a perfect structure and environment here for freedom of religion. Our only problem is to practice it. Every child can understand that if we retain the guaranties of the Bill of Rights the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary, the imprisonment in a concentration camp of Dr. Moeller in Nazi Germany, the trials of the Protestant min-

¹⁶ George S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge (trans.), *I Want To Be Like Stalin*; from the Russian text on pedagogy by Esipov Boris Petrovich and N. K. Goncharov, The John Day Company, 1947, pp. 7-9.

isters in Bulgaria, are impossible. Every intelligent boy and girl can understand that today in countries of the Old World millions of men and women are still imprisoned in slave labor camps. So long as we observe the constitutional principle that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction," such a basic violation of human rights can never exist in America.¹⁷

Provision for Practice in Democratic Living. Since pupils learn what they live, they must have practice in democratic living. The futility of mere verbalizing is well illustrated by the experience Rogers of Chicago had when he set the writing of the salute to the flag as a penmanship exercise in the public schools of Chicago. He found that hundreds of children were saying: "I pledge a legion." "And to the republicans for which I stand." "One nation invisible." "With liberty and jesters." Some years later Olander of the University of Pittsburgh found a similar situation in his study of thirteen school systems. One fifth-grader wrote: "I pleg the leggens to the flag of the United States of America. To which it stands on nation inavibl for liberty justest for all."

Pupils may experience democratic living in a variety of school situations. We shall mention opportunities in the regular work of the classroom, in classroom management and control, in extraclass activities, and in participation in community activities.

In regular work in the classroom where democratic methods are used, pupils work harmoniously with groups, set up common purposes for group planning, assume responsibility, share ideas, learn to give others a chance to express opinions, and learn to appreciate abilities of others. A concrete presentation of classroom procedures that implement a democratic way of life is given in *Democratic Education in Practice* by Rose Schneideman.

Through general school management pupils acquire a sense of self-control and responsibility. They take turns at such duties as cafeteria work, hall duty assignments, library assignments, and the care of equipment. They obey rules agreed upon for the common good.

¹⁷ Florence Allen, "Building and Defending Democracy," *Educational Forum*, May, 1949, p. 398.

Through extraclass activities pupils have abundant social experiences with democracy in action. Extraclass activities make possible a realistic and concrete approach that is not readily duplicated in regular course work. Through participation in clubs, planning of assemblies, participation in student councils, preparation of school newspapers and yearbooks, production of plays and group musical events, athletic team membership, Junior Red Cross, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, pupils have a chance to practice skills and to learn democratic values. Such coöperative endeavors give an appreciation of the worth of others that is not easily obtained in any other way.

Through participation in community affairs pupils have first-hand experience with democracy in action. Participation may take manifold forms. It may include excursions and interviews. It may involve young people as members of boards and planning committees of churches and other community organizations. It should also include service to others. Pupils may participate in such activities as landscaping school grounds, gardening, checking soil erosion, and conducting cleanup campaigns.

A Democratic Atmosphere in the School. An intangible but inestimably important factor in encouraging democratic living and engendering democratic ideals is a democratic atmosphere in the school. Many elements combine to contribute to such an atmosphere. One of them is democratic coöperation in administration. Although administrators and teachers usually express belief in the ideals of democracy, they seem to find it difficult to incorporate them in the organization and administration of schools. Paradoxically enough, the very institution that is supposed to teach democracy is often highly autocratic. In a system dominated by undemocratic administrators, teachers can scarcely maintain a democratic classroom. "Autocracy at the top never breeds democracy at the bottom."

Another highly significant factor is the teacher. It is eternally true that "as is the teacher, so is the school." A well-adjusted teacher with truly human qualities and genuine devotion to democratic ideals can create a classroom environment favorable to learning and appreciating the democratic way of life.

If we bear in mind that "zeal for democracy" is an indirect outcome of instruction, the importance of a democratic atmosphere can scarcely be overemphasized.

Evaluation of School Practices and Outcomes of Learning. As a means of ascertaining progress toward the realization of goals for preparing democratic citizens, teachers and pupils should evaluate school practices and outcomes of learning. Tests have been devised for measuring information about and attitudes toward democracy. Besides, informal judgments may be made about such points as improvement in putting away materials, in participating in games, and in contributing to committee work.

Evaluation of outcomes of learning should be made by each pupil as well as by the teacher. A child is most likely to improve if he sees clearly what standards are desirable and if he realizes his own responsibility for their attainment. He may be aided by check lists worked out either with or without the help of the teacher, by comments of his classmates, and by conferences with the teacher.

One of the most elaborate schemes for judging the worth of a school and its program of democratic citizenship has been formulated by the Detroit public schools and Wayne University. A committee set up criteria for evaluating an activity in the light of democratic living, and summarized information about child growth and development for various age groups from kindergarten through high school. Ways to use these materials were then suggested.¹⁸

The following outline gives an idea of the procedures:¹⁸

- A. In Evaluating a Specific Activity
 1. Select from the section on Criteria for Democratic Living those criteria to which the activity is expected to contribute.
 2. Select from the section on Developmental Characteristics and Needs of Boys and Girls those characteristics applicable to the activity and those needs which the activity may reasonably be expected to meet.
 3. Select the evaluation means which will help to determine the degree to which the activity meets 1 and 2 above.
 4. In the light of the evidence, judge the value of the activity.
- B. In Evaluating a Total School
 1. After reviewing the data on the activities which make up the total school, determine which areas of democratic living are not being met by the present school program. From such a review, decide whether new activities should be added and whether present activities need revision.

¹⁸ "Democratic Citizenship and Development of Children," *Citizenship Education Study*, Detroit Public Schools and Wayne University, 1949, pp. 34-35.

2. A review of these data will also determine whether activities are consistent with characteristics of each age group and whether the needs of each age group are being met. It will also show whether, from the point of view of characteristics and needs, new activities are needed or whether those already in existence need revision.
3. In determining extension or modification of a school program, it should be recognized that there are some criteria and needs which cannot be met by a school.

INTERGROUP EDUCATION

One aspect of the problem of education for life in a democracy that deserves special consideration is intergroup education. The term is used here to designate education intended to promote justice and understanding in our relation with people who differ in religion, race, nationality, and income levels.

The goals of intergroup education are well stated by Kilpatrick, as follows:

1. All pupils shall learn to live well together.
2. Parents and the citizens of the community accept these same goals for themselves and encourage their children so to live.
3. Teachers in the schools shall themselves accept and live the finer and better attitudes in group relations.
4. Children shall increasingly understand how those feel who suffer discrimination, and then act accordingly.
5. Each group shall know and respect the cultural contributions of other groups.
6. Each one may, as age increases, learn to reconsider objectively his own prejudices.
7. Older boys and girls shall for themselves study the evidence regarding the psychology of race.
8. Older students—and teachers—shall study and evaluate the various reasons and rationalizations which in the past supported discriminations.

We learn what we live, we learn each response as we accept it for our living purposes, and we learn it in the degree that we live it. And what we thus learn we therein build at once into character.¹⁹

Understanding people who differ in religion, race, or nationality is important in a country that has many minority groups. Over a

¹⁹ William H. Kilpatrick, "Modern Education and Better Human Relations," *Freedom Pamphlets*, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1949, pp. 20-25.

period of 124 years America has received 39 million immigrants. According to the 1940 census, among 100 typical Americans we should expect to find 81 native whites, 10 Negroes, and 9 foreign-born. Great as has been our progress in assimilating the many groups, we are by no means free from prejudice. In a nation-wide opinion poll in 1948, 50 percent of those interviewed expressed prejudice against some group in the population. Racial and religious prejudices were the most common.

Difficulties in understanding come from contrasts between cultural groups. Each regards his own group as right. The problem is accentuated when the minority group becomes large enough to constitute a threat to the majority group.

The problem is further complicated by the fact that under threat the members of each group tend to respond by an accentuation and idealization of the group characteristics. It is only by placing emphasis on their differences from the other group that they can feel superior to them. The claim to be a master race is the result of a feeling of encirclement and threat from other groups and is an effort to enhance the threatened phenomenal selves of the group members. Propaganda stressing "encirclement" is a common technique of governments wishing to create a greater feeling of unity in their own group. Both Hitler and the Russian communist leadership have used it with conspicuous success, and it is not unknown in America. It is most eagerly accepted by those members of the group who are most in need of self-enhancement. As a general thing, group conflict is at its maximum between the lower levels of the conflicting groups, especially if these levels are the victims of aggression and domination within their own groups.²⁰

Interestingly enough, more attention has been given to intergroup education with reference to promoting understanding of minority groups than promoting understanding of different social classes. Possibly the unwillingness of Americans to admit that classes exist in their society may partially account for the problem being ignored.

However, studies such as *Elmtown's Youth* and *Children of Brastown*, which were mentioned in Chapter I, reveal that children are aware of social class position. Just what can be done to help children of different social classes live together successfully is a knotty problem. At the primary level the teacher's own attitude

²⁰ Donald Snygg and Arthur W. Combs, *Individual Behavior*, Harper & Brothers, 1949, p. 192.

toward lower-class children influences children's attitudes. She can recognize their accomplishments, help them win friends, and in general build up their status in school. However, we must agree with Stendler when she says:

What works on a primary level may be much too naïve a technique for older groups. On the eighth grade level, the twofold problem of integrating a group made up of social classes and of helping the lower-class child deal with his lower-classness is more difficult. The program described by Lloyd Cook at the high school level, consisting of an individual guidance approach and a group management approach, has much in it that seems praiseworthy. Under the first approach, an attempt was made through a system of individual conferences to effect certain changes in the group sociogram. Under the second and more fruitful approach, three types of projects were instituted: fun parties (hay rides and stunt nights) organized by the class, war service activities, and role practice, or the sociodrama, in which a persistent gripe, "The Youth Problem," was dramatized. Such projects are suggestive of the many activities which could be carried on so that all classes in working together on projects or on common problems might get to view one another in a different light. Individual conferences by a trained counselor might help the lower-class child articulate his feelings and his problems.²¹

Intergroup education must begin early. Young children are probably not concerned with racial feelings, religious differences, and class distinctions. However, they are soon taught biased attitudes. These lyrics from the musical play *South Pacific* have a bearing on this point:

You've got to be taught to be afraid
Of people whose eyes are oddly made,
And people whose skin is a different shade,
You've got to be carefully taught.

You've got to be taught before it's too late,
Before you are six or seven or eight,
To hate all the people your relatives hate,
You've got to be carefully taught!²²

²¹ Celia Burns Stendler, *Children of Brastown*, University of Illinois Press, 1949, p. 100.

²² Copyright 1950 by Williamson Music Inc. Used by permission of the copyright owner.

Before the culture molds their prejudices, the school should help children understand people of different backgrounds from their own. They should learn to avoid the false assumption that all members of a group are alike, and to judge each person as a separate individual.

In order to be effective, intergroup education must be more than verbalizing. Deeply rooted prejudices and behavior patterns are usually not changed simply by presentation of facts. Children must practice what they learn. Each community has its own problems to solve. Whether the special interest grows out of tensions resulting from the presence of Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese, Jews, or Catholics, or from conflict along economic lines, a realistic program of education begins with immediate issues within the experience of the pupils. As pupils examine patterns of community living, they should relate them to the larger setting of national and world affairs.

The National Council for the Social Studies suggests a number of helpful activities for making the study of human rights realistic. To quote:

Students need to understand how it feels to know of rights but not to have them. Some identification may be gained by reading fiction or through sociodrama. Here is a situation for a sociodrama:

A Jewish boy, whose application for admission was filed two months ago, is turned down by a college official because "our enrollment is filled." The boy knows that a friend of his, non-Jewish, applied to the same college only two weeks ago and has already been accepted. Include in the setting such details as the facts that the two boys come from the same high school and have similar records.

To deepen insight and broaden understanding of the many sides of the problem, ask these questions: "How do you think the boy who was turned down felt?" "Why do you think he felt that way?" "What could he have done?" "How do you think the man felt who turned him down?" "Why did he do it?"

Similarly, select an incident from fiction, read it to the class, and provide the same discussion opportunities. A good case is presented in *Gentlemen's Agreement* when one of the characters is refused lodging at a hotel. The same sequence of questions might follow.²³

²³ Ryland W. Crary and John T. Robinson, *America's Stake in Human Rights*, National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin 24, September, 1949, p. 30.

of the school may be rendered ineffective by community conditions. When pupils witness discrimination against minority groups in such matters as employment practices and segregation, they may well wonder whether we render more than lip service to democracy. When pupils observe the social ostracism of people from "the other side of the tracks" they may properly question the sincerity of our pronouncements concerning the dignity and worth of all human beings.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Another aspect of the problem of education for life in a democracy that deserves special consideration is education for world citizenship. Our responsibilities and rights extend to an ever-widening community. Whether we like it or not, whether we know it or not, we are world citizens. We have discovered through bitter experience that foreign affairs are a matter of life and death for every one of us. We have witnessed the staggering cost of two global conflicts. In World War II the trillions of dollars in goods and services and the loss of forty or fifty million human lives were part of the sacrifice. How dramatically Norman Corwin portrayed the cost in his stirring book, *On a Note of Triumph*:

How much did it cost?

Well, the gun, the half-track and the fuselage come to a figure resembling mileages between two stars;

Impressive, but not to be grasped by any single imagination.

High octane is high, and K-rations in the aggregate mount up; also mosquito-netting and battleships.

But these costs are calculable, and have no nerve-endings,
And will eventually be taken care of by the federal taxes on antiques,
cigarettes, and excess profits.

However, in the matter of the kid who used to deliver folded newspapers
to your doorstep, flipping them sideways from his bicycle,

And who died on a jeep in the Ruhr,

There is no fixed price, and no amount of taxes can restore him to his mother.

And if you wish to assess the cost of beating the fascists, you must multiply the number of closed files in the departments of war, by the exchange value of sorrow, which is infinite and has no decimals.²⁸

Yet almost as soon as "the good news of damnation," as Hutchins called the news of the dropping of the first atomic bomb, reached us, the world launched upon a program of perfecting new instruments for mass destruction. So determined do men seem to destroy themselves that Bertrand Russell may have been right when he declared: "Ninety per cent of the human race would rather be dead than sensible."

So complete may be the devastation wrought by the hydrogen bomb that Einstein believes all life on the globe may be destroyed. Not even the two monkeys that the cartoonist imagined on a deserted island at the close of World War III may be left to inquire, "My God, do we have to start this all over again?" Little wonder that many thoughtful citizens see a world community as the only hope of survival.

To the typical American reared in a tradition that glorifies national sovereignty, the idea of world citizenship is perplexing. He questions whether loyalty to America is compatible with acceptance of world citizenship. He lacks the point of view so ably expressed by Conant: "We can be both intensely American and yet international-minded, both loyal to the unique manifestations of democracy in the United States and staunch friends of free societies of all types wherever they may be found. Indeed, one is tempted to go further and say not only is such dual loyalty a possibility, it is the essential condition for the freedom of this nation and the continuance of Western civilization."

The goals for international education are suggested by this statement of the ten marks of the world-minded American:

1. The world-minded American realizes that civilization may be imperiled by another world war.

²⁸ Norman Corwin, *On a Note of Triumph*, Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1945, pp. 39-41.

2. The world-minded American wants a world at peace in which liberty and justice are assured for all.
3. The world-minded American knows that nothing in human nature makes war inevitable.
4. The world-minded American believes that education can become a powerful force for achieving international understanding and world peace.
5. The world-minded American knows and understands how people in other lands live and recognizes the common humanity which underlies all differences of culture.
6. The world-minded American knows that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace and that nations must cooperate to achieve peace and human progress.
7. The world-minded American knows that modern technology holds promise of solving the problem of economic security and that international cooperation can contribute to the increase of wellbeing for all men.
8. The world-minded American has a deep concern for the wellbeing of humanity.
9. The world-minded American has a continuing interest in world affairs and he devotes himself seriously to the analysis of international problems with all the skill and judgment he can command.
10. The world-minded American acts to help bring about a world at peace in which liberty and justice are assured for all.²⁹

Methods and materials for furthering democratic education that were discussed earlier in the chapter may be adapted to promoting world-mindedness. Special attention should be given to organized efforts to secure world coöperation through the United Nations. As Counts so well points out: "The United Nations has been founded and the first steps toward the creation of a world organization have been taken. But all of this is but a delicate plant that will wither and die unless it is carefully and tenderly nurtured. Without the necessary good will, understanding, and discipline on the part of the nations of the earth, the organization launched at San Francisco may actually serve the ends of war. The American people, because of their great power, probably have a heavier responsibility for making their daring venture successful than any other."

²⁹ The educational implications of these ten marks are discussed in National Education Association, Committee on International Relations, *Education for International Understanding in American Schools*, 1948.

The United Nations action to repel aggression in Korea naturally brings with it a reëxamination of the United Nations. Walter Lippmann holds that we should not expect that body to execute security. In his words: "Survival of the United Nations depends, it seems to me, on the general recognition of the fact that, while it is not a policeman and cannot be made into a policeman, not even if the Russians were expelled, it is still an invaluable meeting place. Were it dissolved, we should be asking where and how we can achieve general contact and diplomatic intercourse not merely with our Soviet adversaries but with the great number of states in Asia, the Middle East, Europe and Africa who are our allies or are friendly neutrals." Whether or not his point of view is correct may long remain a matter for debate.

Pupils should become acquainted with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This declaration, which is the first part of an international bill of rights, and the first of its kind ever adopted on a world-wide basis, is the outcome of over two and one-half years of work in the United Nations. It was adopted, without recorded opposition, by the General Assembly in Paris on December 10, 1948. The declaration follows:

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

WHEREAS recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

WHEREAS disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

WHEREAS it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

WHEREAS it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

WHEREAS the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and

worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

WHEREAS Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

WHEREAS a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realisation of this pledge,

NOW THEREFORE

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

proclaims

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1 All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2 Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4 No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5 No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6 Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7 All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8 Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10 Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11 (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14 (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15 (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16 (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found

a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17 (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18 Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19 Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21 (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22 Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realisation, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organisation and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23 (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24 Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25 (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26 (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27 (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28 Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realised.

ARTICLE 29 (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30 Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Many areas of subject matter lend themselves to improving international understanding. For example, geography is admirably suited to this purpose.

Teaching about groups of men in their respective environmental settings is the very foundation for understanding the international behavior of mankind. This in turn is the first requisite for building a peaceful and orderly world. It is difficult for a man to be a citizen of the world if he does not even know the names of the other nations of men in his world—let alone the environments of these nations out of which spring the local and regional problems which cause them to act and think as they do.

We live in a geographical world. To understand it requires that we place geography at the core of our educational system and that we study it on an adult level. Any attempt to avoid doing this can only continue to result in ungeographical attitudes and behavior on the part of the American people. A very large segment of American education, however, has long avoided, and is still attempting to avoid, doing this very thing. If we were to devise a core of geographical education suitable for living in a geographical world, it would speedily alter America's whole educational system.³⁰

One difficulty in teaching international understanding arises from the paucity of suitable teaching materials. Attention is being given to textbook revision for international understanding. The following criteria are recommended by F. Jones Quillen of Stanford University as universally helpful in textbook analysis:

³⁰ George T. Renner and Paul F. Griffin, "Geographic Education for Survival," *School and Society*, August 6, 1949, p. 84.

1. Is the content accurate?
2. Is the information included comprehensive and adequate? Is there sufficient content on the cultures of other nations and on world history and contemporary problems and events?
3. Is the content balanced? Are both the national and international stressed?
4. Is the treatment of the content objective and fair? Are other nations and peoples treated fairly and objectively?
5. Are the illustrations representative and accurate, and the learning activities and exercises such as will build accurate understanding and wholesome human relations?
6. Are important concepts defined clearly, and are negative symbols and stereotypes which lead to misunderstanding and prejudice avoided?
7. Are the ideals of human freedom, dignity, equality, and brotherhood supported?
8. Is chauvinism avoided?
9. Is adequate content on the United Nations and other international agencies included?
10. Is order under international law supported?
11. Is the content as a whole such as will contribute to the development of the understandings, ideals, and competences necessary to both wholesome national citizenship and world citizenship?

Another difficulty lies in the threat to freedom of learning. The general atmosphere of suspicion and conflict that surrounds us is not conducive to critical evaluation and disinterested study of unfriendly nations. Teachers are becoming unjust victims of a national witch hunt. Yet the nation's very security may hinge upon having informed and alert people who can participate wisely in making decisions that involve people of other lands.

A possible contribution to teaching an understanding of people of other countries is the exchange of students and teachers. In 1952 the Office of Education reported that 1500 teachers and leaders and at least 31,000 students from various countries had entered the United States for educational purposes. Approximately 5000 teachers and leaders and 8000 students had gone from the United States to engage in educational pursuits abroad. Under the exchange programs administered by the Office of Education in 1952-1953 approximately 1000 teachers, trainees, students, and leaders in education throughout the world came to the United States. The Office furnished assistance

in the form of guidance, orientation, program planning, and placement in environments most conducive to their educational development. Such an exchange may help to produce a friendly attitude among nations. While the change may be gradual and mostly intangible, it should nevertheless be immensely valuable.

At the request of the Secretary General of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession, Stroh made a study of exchange teaching as seen by participants from the United States and Great Britain. Questionnaires were sent to 123 American and 123 British exchange teachers for 1947-1948. Replies were received from 73 of the former and 66 of the latter. All agreed that the experience was valuable to the individual. Both groups felt that the total effect of the experience was mixed—some teachers helped understanding, some hindered it. The replies brought out such points as need for careful selection, preparation, and placement of teachers. An inquiry as to the real purpose of the exchange yielded illuminating information:

There were almost no allusions to the exchange of educational ideas nor any references to evaluations of teaching. Of course all of the respondents expressed their convictions that the personal growth of the individual cannot be measured, but the question arises whether the development of personal friendships, the cultural growth of the teachers concerned, and the more mature understandings developed in a relatively small group will achieve in themselves the purposes of exchange. One of the significant things omitted was the possible effect upon the children taught. It was only occasionally that a teacher suggested that his contacts with children aided mutual understanding. The possibility of demonstrating among children adequate concepts of world citizenship and international understanding was almost completely ignored.³¹

Teachers may also acquire increased sympathy for the cause of international education if they affiliate with world-wide teachers' organizations. Such groups may aid in building international good will and world-wide peace.

PROVIDING EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

If our schools are fully to serve their purpose of preparing pupils for life in a democracy, we must solve the problem of giving youth

³¹ M. Margaret Stroh, "Exchange Teaching as Seen by Participants," *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, Winter, 1950, p. 43.

equal access to education. In spite of our boast of a free educational system for all the children of all the people, we are far from realizing this goal.

In 1947 illiteracy in persons 14 years old and over was 2.7 percent. Nearly $2\frac{3}{4}$ million Americans over 14 years of age could not read or write any language. The percentage of illiteracy among the non-white population was 11 percent, and for residents of rural farm areas 5.3 percent. However, eventual success in the campaign against illiteracy is forecast by the fact that there is less and less of it at successively younger ages. The rate varied in 1947 from 6.7 percent among persons 65 years of age and over down to 1 percent for persons 14 to 24 years of age. In 1947 the median of years of school completed was 9.6 as compared with 8.7 in 1940.

What, then, are some of the obstacles that prevent millions of our youth from having equal access to education? What are the major sources of educational inequalities? We shall mention four.

In the first place, our educational programs are often ill adapted to the needs and interests of children of different abilities. On the whole, children who excel in abstract thinking are more likely to achieve success in school than children who show chiefly mechanical aptitude. Our programs tend to be intellectually selective. Either willingly or unwillingly, many children leave school because they cannot do satisfactorily the type of work offered.

Even the intellectually gifted often leave school not because the work is too difficult but because it is too easy to challenge them. Contrary to popular opinion, gifted pupils are the most neglected group in our public schools. In *Education of the Gifted*, a bulletin prepared by the Educational Policies Commission, the fact that half of this group do not go to college is attributed in part to lack of encouragement and recognition from teachers and parents, and to lack of incentive because of our tendency to belittle exceptional ability.

In the second place, economic status may determine the amount of schooling boys and girls receive. That lack of money accounts for withdrawal from school is not surprising when we note the distribution of family income in the United States, mentioned earlier in this chapter.

If education is to be effectively free at all age levels, provision must

be made for free tuition, scholarships, and living expenses. Paid work opportunities should be provided for youth in the upper years of high school and in college.

To be sure, all this costs money. Just how much would be needed to provide assistance for only the most gifted is unknown. In their book entitled *Who Shall Be Educated*, Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb suggest that such assistance for about 5 percent of the youth of high-school age and for 3 percent of the youth of college age would cost only about as much as the NYA spent in 1938 when the load was greatest.

In the third place, differences in the ability of states to support education affect educational opportunities. The accident of living in a state with little wealth may doom a child to inferior schooling.

In the fourth place, discrimination against certain minority groups prevents equality of educational opportunity. Segregation is one pattern of discrimination. Negroes have probably suffered most from an "equal but separate" system of segregated schools. Often only about one-half as much money is spent per pupil in schools for Negroes as is spent in schools for whites. As a result, inferior buildings and equipment, crowded classrooms, poorly prepared teachers, and inadequate curriculums are the rule.

The "quota system" is another form of discrimination. The Report by the Commission on Higher Education stated that "many colleges and universities, especially in their professional schools, maintain a selective quota system for admission under which the chance to learn, and thereby to become more useful citizens, is denied to certain minorities, particularly to Negroes and Jews. . . . The quota system cannot be justified on any ground compatible with democratic principles."

Until we can offer educational programs suited to pupils of different abilities and interests, until we can make education effectively free to rich and poor alike, until we can provide good schools for children in poor as well as in wealthy states, and until we provide equal programs for pupils regardless of race, color, or creed, our ideal of giving youth equal access to education will be unattained.

SUMMARY

In the United States the school is expected to prepare pupils to assume intelligently their responsibilities as citizens. They must

learn not only to appreciate the democratic way of life but also to preserve and improve it. In order to help them attain desired behavior responses, the school endeavors to select suitable subject matter, provide experiences in democratic living, maintain a democratic atmosphere, and evaluate school practices and outcomes of learning in the light of democratic living. Special aspects of the problem of the school and democracy involve provision for intergroup and international education and for equality of educational opportunity.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How may daily living in the classroom group contribute to preparation for citizenship?
2. Outline a program for improving attitudes toward minority groups of pupils at the grade level that you prefer to teach.
3. Evaluate the statement: "Dare we educate for democracy? If we are to give it more than lip-service; if we are to practice democracy as a way of life; if we are to believe in the inherent worth of each learner—many school systems and school masters must topple from their thrones. Yet this must come to pass if the education of free men in a free nation is to be attained. We dare not do otherwise."³²
4. Prepare a report on the monograph, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy* (Educational Policies Commission, 1937).
5. List reasons for preferring democracy to dictatorship.
6. Should schools indoctrinate for democracy?
7. Defend or refute Dewey's statement: "The problem is not whether the schools *should* participate in the production of a future society (since they do so anyway), but whether they should do it blindly and irresponsibly or with the maximum possible of courageous intelligence and responsibility."
8. Should teachers deal with controversial issues in their classes?
9. Show how a teacher's concept of democracy may shape his ideas of discipline. Does treating a child in a democratic fashion mean letting him do as he pleases?
10. Read "I Was a Hobo Kid," by Billie Davis, *The Saturday Evening Post*, December 13, 1952.

³² A. I. Oliver, "Dare We Educate for Democracy?" *Educational Forum*, November, 1950, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

Development of Elementary Education

ERIC A. JOHNSTON once said: "To my mind, there is a great story in education—a succession of stories. I think education is dramatic. It has everything in it to make it so: struggle, pathos, triumph, competition, good humor and interesting people."

In the brief space of two chapters we can present only a few pages from the history of three centuries of educational progress in the United States—pages that help explain how the schools of today came to be and how the schools of tomorrow may take form. In this chapter we shall note some outstanding events in the growth of elementary education and, in Chapter V, of secondary and higher education.

Although it was not the first unit to develop, we shall begin our story with the elementary school. We shall trace its growth as a traditional eight-year institution and show how its structural organization has been modified by the addition of nursery school and kindergarten and by the emergence of the junior high school.

Elementary schools may have had their origin in the vernacular school of the Middle Ages. To understand the character of vernacular schools we must catch a glimpse of the society they served. Until about 1100 two social classes, the nobility and high clergy, dominated European life. Both were supported by the labor of common people known as serfs and villeins who received only a bare subsistence. Near the end of the eleventh century when commerce and trade revived and towns and cities sprang up, persons who engaged in trade came to be recognized as a new social group, the burghers or middle class. With the growth of business, orders, bills, accounts, letters, and many other kinds of papers were required. At first Latin was the language used in business. Since only churchmen could write, they were pressed into service for secretarial duties. As business expanded and the ecclesiastics could

not keep up with the demands made upon them, the burghers either learned Latin or sent their sons to Latin schools to acquire skills needed in preparing papers and keeping accounts.

During the thirteenth century, with a shift away from Latin for business documents, the middle class had little preference for a foreign tongue in comparison with the local language. After about 1350 writing schools taught reading and writing in the vernacular, and reckoning schools gave instruction in practical arithmetic for commercial purposes. Not a part of the organization of Latin schools which led to the university, these schools are referred to by Reisner as "an educational pocket, leading nowhere, but serving the needs of many." They were intended only for the common people.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the invention of printing and the Protestant Reformation gave fresh reasons for education. When they were made by hand, books were so scarce and expensive that their circulation reached hardly beyond university faculties, court circles, literary groups, and ecclesiastics. With the invention of printing came an upturn in the number and accessibility of books and a consequent incentive to learn to read. With the Protestant Reformation came the incentive to learn to read the Bible as a means of personal salvation. Without this strong impetus given by the Reformation and without the multiple pamphlets and books made possible by the printing press it is impossible to say how long the advent of vernacular schools might have been delayed.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN COLONIAL AMERICA

Before the Revolutionary War colonists were more pressingly occupied with conquering a howling wilderness than with advancing learning. They met the challenges of grim, toilsome days—building houses, clearing farms, and subduing hostile Indian tribes. They lived in scattered settlements isolated from one another because of crude means of transportation and communication. Cultural affairs played a meager part in their lives. Their learning came not from books but from the activities of everyday life.

We should avoid the facile judgment, however, of attributing the almost imperceptible growth of schools to the austere colonial climate. Not to be overlooked is the influence of Old World ideas. Reared in lands where education was carried on under private aus-

pices, the settlers engaged in no concerted drive for schools financed from public coffers. Instead they relied upon three methods for providing for education: church, charity, and government support.

In western Europe until about 1800 the elementary school, a handmaiden of the church, was maintained to propagate the faith of a particular sect. Familiar with parochial schools in their homeland, the colonists established their counterparts on this side of the Atlantic. For more than a century religion profoundly affected provisions for education in the United States.

In the middle colonies—New Netherland (later New York), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—with their diversities of nationality and religion, church support gained a strong foothold. New Jersey followed the pattern set by New York. Delaware, a small independent colony, had a relatively unimportant educational history. Hence we shall follow happenings only in New Netherland and Pennsylvania.

New Netherland had its beginning early in the seventeenth century when the Dutch West India Company sent over about thirty families. Other settlers followed, until eventually the Dutch had far-flung trading posts on the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut Rivers. Expansion of the colony was so gradual that forty years later not more than 7000 colonists were dwelling chiefly in about a dozen villages along the Hudson. Despite the presence of many national and religious groups, the culture of New Netherland was predominantly Dutch, with the Dutch Reformed Church the state church.

Although obligation to make education available rested upon the Company, the Dutch Reformed Church coöperated closely in promoting a public school in each community in order that the children might acquire a knowledge of religion and the ability to read the Dutch language. In keeping with Holland's high educational standards, the charter of the colony directed that the ". . . colonists shall in particular endeavor as quickly as possible to find some means whereby they may support a minister and school master, and thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not cool and be neglected among them." The church itself supervised, inspected, and controlled the schools. The civil government decreed that the schoolmaster and minister catechize the children on Wednesday and

Saturday. Although the evidence is not indisputable, the school of New Amsterdam, founded probably in 1633, is often hailed as the first permanent one within the thirteen original colonies.

In evaluating the influence of the Dutch on American education, Monroe wrote:

The significant fact in regard to this system of parish schools is the marked contrast which it offers to the villages or towns where English customs prevailed. In all of these Dutch settlements a community school existed as one essential part of the structure of society and of the local system of government. While church and town government co-operated, these were essentially town schools supported as a town charge. To the Dutch a church was essentially a part of the local government scheme. The "church masters" were selected by the town government. So while the school was immediately under the church, it was essentially a town school. In the early national period these schools continued to form the basis or nucleus of a system of public schools. Undoubtedly the traditions represented by these state-church or parish schools, and the actual working system which they presented were a leading factor in the establishment of the first system of public schools created after the Revolution (New York, 1795).¹

After England gained possession of New Netherland, English traditions dominated education. Because the Anglican church had no interest in supplying funds for schools founded by another sect, the Dutch had the burden of supporting the schools they had already instituted. As additional communities sprang up, arrangements for schools fell to the lot of religious and charitable organizations. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the foreign missionary society of the Church of England, began work in New York City in 1703. For the most part, schools of this society were typical charity schools for the children of the poor. One master reported that he taught "Church of England catechism, as also what other learning he had, to render them able to know their duty to God by reading the Scriptures," and "as much reading and writing and arithmetic as may relieve the common occasions of vulgar people, which is the most these people aspire to."

Parochial schools flourished under the conditions afforded by Pennsylvania. Basking in the religious freedom assured by the

¹ Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System*, The Macmillan Company, 1940, vol. 1, p. 82.

Quakers, the colony became a haven for people of many faiths who set up their own schools.

Nowhere else in America, perhaps, was there so little unity in the population as here. Catholics, Quakers, Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists all had their own church schools and refused to send their children to any other. In addition to the more powerful denominations, an unusual number of tiny sects, such as the Moravians, Mennonites, Amish, Schwenkfelders, Dunkers, and Seventh Day Baptists, founded their settlements within the province.

There was, moreover, as little harmony of race as there was of religion. The Swedes and Dutch along the Delaware still clung desperately to their old language and customs; Germans, often referred to as "Pennsylvania Dutch" by their English neighbors, settled the country in large numbers; and the Scotch-Irish became a vanguard on the edge of the backwoods in the West.

As the most numerous of the alien elements of the population, the Germans early attracted the benevolent interest of the English and to such a degree that in 1754 there was organized in London a "Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge Among the Germans in America." The free schools founded by this missionary agency were unquestionably needed, but the Germans resented the patronizing implication that they were fit objects of charity, and they also feared that if their children went to these schools they might forget their native language and abandon the religion of their fathers. Isolated by distance from the well-educated people of Germany and unwilling to enter heartily into what was to them a foreign culture, the Pennsylvania Germans too frequently grew indifferent to the schooling of their children, though their churches, notably the Moravian, labored to keep alive to some extent the old love of learning. In consequence, though the educated were but few, they never wholly "ceased out of the land."²

Throughout the colonial period there was, as Butts and Cremin remind us, "acceptance of the principle that the church and state were legitimate partners in the propagation and maintenance of an established religion," but there was at the same time the equally authentic tradition of separation of church and state. Space does not permit a review of the intricate problems involved in the patterns of church-state relations as they emerged in the United States.

² E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, vol. 33 of *The Chronicles of America*, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. 36-38.

Suffice it to say that problems growing out of denominational support of schools still perplex us.

In the southern colonies—Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia—the policies of the church blended with charity maintenance of schools. Among the Quakers in North Carolina and the Catholics in Maryland, church schools similar to those in the middle colonies developed. Elsewhere most of the settlers were adherents of the Church of England who came to a foreign soil not for religious but economic reasons. The ownership of extensive landholdings that called for a large number of laborers resulted in sharp class distinctions. Children of members of the landed aristocracy had private teachers, while children of the servant class gained their education through charity schools and the apprentice system.

Virginia, more closely than the other colonies, resembled England. Children of well-to-do families received instruction from a tutor or parish clergyman, if not sent to England for their education. A tutor might be engaged by several families, thus setting up a tuition school. Often classes were held in a log cabin in an "old field" no longer suitable for tobacco cultivation. Sometimes the teacher was paid in corn, bacon, or brandy. How closely the Virginia scheme of education followed English traditions is clearly shown in Governor Berkeley's response in 1671 to the question, "What course is taken about the instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion?" The governor replied: "The same that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his own ability instructing his children. . . . But, I thank God there are no free schools and printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into this world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

Learning fell into such neglect that in 1715 Governor Spotswood reproached the colonial assembly for having two standing committees whose chairmen could not "spell English or write common sense."

In accordance with English custom, children of the poverty-haunted were apprenticed to learn a trade. In 1701 Virginia enacted legislation specifying that "the master of every such orphan shall be obliged to teach him to read and write." This was the first stipula-

tion in Virginia of any educational requirement in the training of an apprentice. For nearly two centuries the principle of apprenticeship left its mark on colonial education.

Just as the tradition of church support has persisted to some extent, so too has the plan of private support. Some parents arrange for tutorial or private-school instruction for their children. From time to time organized efforts to reduce appropriations and curtail educational opportunities are made by people who object to educating at public expense "all the children of all the people."

Free, public, government-supported schools were the choice of colonists in the northern colonies—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Determined to build a society in harmony with their ideals, people in many of these regions soon began to formulate school legislation.

The Puritans in Massachusetts represent a group who came to America to find a place where they could worship God in their own way without interference. They did not, however, tolerate religious freedom for others. They excluded from the colony Quakers, Baptists, and all other denominations who differed from them. They kept strict control of affairs by requiring church membership for voting on matters concerned with the general government of the colony, and by barring from membership anyone not in favor of the established order. Leaders in the church were also leaders in civil society. Pastors supervised the schools. The main materials of instruction were the Bible and the tenets of Calvinism.

Massachusetts was the first colony to make ample provision for the education of its people. In his *History of the United States*, Bancroft attributes to the laws establishing public schools the secret of the success of New England. "Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of public care of its morals and its mind."

In 1642 the General Court of Massachusetts commanded the selectmen of every town "to have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors, to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and [obtain] a

knowledge of the capital laws." If parents failed in that duty they were deemed "unnatural parents" and their children were taken away from them and placed where their right to learn would be safeguarded. Here was the first law to set a precedent for an inquiry into the ability of all children to read.

The law of 1642 did not establish schools or order employment of schoolmasters. So unsatisfactory were the results that five years later it was replaced by the law of 1647, known as "The Old Deluder, Satan, Act," from the preamble which opened with the words, "It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures. . . ." The law ordained that in every town "of fifty householders" one person within that town should be appointed "to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read," and that "where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they shall be fitted for the university," that is, in the Latin and Greek languages.

While the law exacted high qualifications for the master of the grammar school, it specified only "one within their town" to teach young children to write and read. The master was to "be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint." Payment of some form of tuition was customary for at least a century.

The laws of 1642 and 1647 are usually regarded as the germ of the common-school system in the United States. However, such distinguished historians as Charles A. and Mary R. Beard do not so classify them. "Unquestionably the first of these acts was conceived partly in the spirit of the English poor law; while the second flowed from a great desire to impose on all children the creed of the Puritan sect. The fact that the education was ordered by 'the state' was of no special significance, for the state and church were one in Massachusetts at the time; indeed, if the Mathers were to be believed, the church was superior to the state."

Despite difference of opinion as to whether or not the laws of 1642 and 1647 represent "foundations upon which our American state public-school systems have been built," we are indebted to the

Puritans for two fundamental contributions. First, they discerned that "the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any Commonwealth." Second, they introduced the idea of government-supported schools for every community and child. Although these New England leaders had in mind schools to inculcate acceptance of the prevailing pattern of religious, political, and social affairs of their day, which was a far cry from our modern democratic ideals, they gave us invaluable principles. Fortunately, as Edwards and Richey point out, "fundamental principles of social policy have a way of outliving the particular circumstances in which they develop." So it happened that these guides to action stood us in good stead when democratic commonwealths emerged.

Throughout the colonial period learning was at a low ebb. Responsibility for making education available for the children rested on parents. Dame schools and writing schools afforded rudimentary training. The dame school, kept by a housewife in her home, derived support from small tuition fees and occasionally from public funds. Here pupils studied the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, and elements of reading, writing, and counting, together with some domestic skills, such as sewing and knitting for girls. For many pupils, especially girls, this was the end of formal instruction. Boys who desired to learn a trade apprenticed themselves to someone skilled in the work of their choice. Only boys destined to become leaders in church or state went to the Latin grammar school.

Writing schools, which generally admitted pupils who had made some progress in reading, offered the rudiments of reading and writing and, in more favored cases, especially in commercial centers, arithmetic. Toward the end of the colonial period spelling was added.

Teachers had no special preparation for their work. They were indentured servants, errant rogues, adventurers, or theological students waiting a call to a pulpit. They were often called on to assist at the church as either janitor or assistant to the pastor, to act as sexton, to run errands, to keep records, and in general to render whatever services the community demanded. Their teaching was dull and inefficient. Rarely did they give any actual instruction. They simply heard recitations. Pupils were called up one by one to recite memorized material that held little meaning for them.

Motivated by belief in the natural depravity of children, teachers administered severe punishments. John Robinson, a Pilgrim preacher, remarked: "Surely there is in all children (tho not alike) a stubbornnes and stoutness of minde arising from natural pride which must be broken and beaten down so that the foundation of their education being layd in humilitie, other virtues may in their time be built thereon." "For the good" of the child, liberal use was made of the dunce cap, placards such as "Tell-Tale" and "Idle Boy" that were pinned on offenders, the ferrule, the cowhide whip, and the "whispering-stick"—a small green branch with a split in it to confine the whisperer's tongue.

Salaries for elementary teachers probably did not often exceed \$50 per year in addition to board. The first teacher in Northampton in 1664 was a farmer who was paid by the town "six pounds towards the scoole & to tacke the benifet of the scollers provided that he teach Six months in the yeare together." Payments were irregular and often partly in produce or livestock. We are told that in one school a pupil was placed near a window where he could hail any passerby for the purpose of selling the surplus truck that had accumulated. Little wonder that teachers had to supplement their incomes by engaging in other occupations.

School buildings were crude, uncomfortable, and meagerly equipped. They were built of logs, floored with puncheon or dirt, and roofed with bark. Greased paper took the place of window-panes. An open fireplace, perhaps of stone and clay, furnished heat. Some schoolmasters banished from the fireside children whose parents were remiss in supplying wood. The teacher's desk, puncheon seats or benches made from a slab of log rudely carved and probably full of knots and splinters, a table or shelf attached to the wall, and an hourglass comprised the equipment.

Textbooks were few and unattractive. The "hornbook," the child's first "book," consisted of a piece of board with a handle, on which was nailed a sheet of paper or parchment covered with transparent horn to protect it from wear. The paper contained the alphabet, the vowels listed separately, short meaningless syllables, and the Lord's Prayer. The next book was the *New England Primer*, filled with moral lessons. Each letter of the alphabet appeared in connection with rhymed verses of two or three lines, illustrated with

crude pictures. (See Figure 2.) There were almost no printed textbooks for arithmetic. Pupils wrote down problems and rules dictated by the teacher.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FROM 1776 TO 1900

In the century and a quarter from 1776 to 1900 we note two fairly distinct stages in the development of elementary schools. In the first part of the period occurred an awakening of educational consciousness and a struggle for free schools, while in the second part came reorganization within the system as the result of new theories from abroad.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION DURING THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD

The early national period, which extended from Revolutionary to Civil War days, falls into two subperiods. During the first, which lasted until about 1830, a vision of universal education began to stir public imagination. During the second, from 1830 until the War Between the States, the struggle for state schools was waged.

When the national period began, the country was exhausted from the sacrifices entailed by the struggle for independence. The population was scattered, with approximately one-third of the people far from the settlements along the seacoast. In spite of the magnificent pronouncements of the Declaration of Independence, people had only a vague notion of the real meaning of democracy. Aristocratic ideals still shaped political practice. The right to vote was often conditioned by ownership of property or by other qualifications which met the approval of the governing classes. Standards for education fell below those of the colonial period. Ultimately, unfamiliar economic and social forces began to enter the picture and to make universal education imperative. Many of the factors can be traced to two events that exerted momentous influence toward the close of the eighteenth century: migration of the people westward and the Industrial Revolution.

The westward movement with its accompanying hardships fostered among the frontiersmen economic and social equality which in turn led to political equality. The granting of full manhood suffrage enormously augmented the number of voters. Many of them had little or no schooling. The hazards that threatened the



A
In Adam's Fall,
We sinned all.



B
Thy life to mend,
This Book attend.



C
The Cat doth play,
And after slay.



D
A Dog will bite,
A thief at night.



E
An Eagle's flight
Is out of sight.



F
The idle Fool,
Is whipped at school.

An Alphabet of Lessons for Youth.

A WISE son maketh a glad father, but a foolish son is the grief of his mother.
B ETTER is a little, with the fear of the Lord, than great treasure, and trouble therewith.
C OME unto Christ, all ye who labour and are heavy laden, and he will give rest to your souls.
D O not the abominable thing which I hate, saith the Lord.

FIGURE 2. New England Primer, p. 13.

country from abysmal ignorance made education a necessity, not to save souls as was urged after the Reformation, but to save the country. The election of Andrew Jackson, a man of humble origin, to the Presidency in 1828 ushered in a new epoch. In a sense, "the new West and the frontier had taken the whip hand in political management." With the proven fact that any man might be elected to high office, it became obvious that "a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives."

The Industrial Revolution, perhaps even more than the westward movement, hastened the awakening of educational consciousness. Invention and science changed the entire system of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce. People flocked to industrial centers that grew as if by magic. Youngsters whose parents could not afford to send them to schools that charged tuition went to work in factories at an early age or roved aimlessly about the streets in idle groups. Dangers inherent in such a situation were so frightening that they constituted a strong argument for free public schools. Even more powerful, though, in the push for universal education was the insistence of the workingman upon equality of opportunity for his children. He sensed the value of education in improving socioeconomic status and coveted for his boys and girls an institution untainted by the stigma attached to pauper schools.

Not yet prepared to tax themselves to carry the entire load of maintaining schools, the people turned to the church and to philanthropic societies to solve this problem. One of the first ventures was the establishment of secular Sunday schools, patterned after similar English schools, to give indigent children instruction one day per week in reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. The movement spread until by 1820 all leading denominations were operating Sunday schools. Millions of children enrolled. Eventually the churches reduced their teaching to an hour or so of religious instruction on Sunday morning. With such neglect of secular education came a demand for an innovative type of educational venture.

Voluntary school societies financed by contributions from public-spirited citizens started to take over instructing the children of the less fortunate. Foremost among these organizations was the Society for Establishing a Free School in the City of New York, formed in

1805 with De Witt Clinton, then mayor of New York City, as its president. Soon the Association was renamed the Free School Society. When reorganized in 1826 under the name Public School Society, its schools accepted both tuition and charity pupils. The fee plan, intended to allay criticism among parents who sent their children to private schools and derived no benefit from state funds given to the Society, created class consciousness and, after bitter dissension, was abolished. Finally in the middle of the eighteenth century the Society's schools merged with the city schools operated by the Board of Education of New York City.

Through Governor Clinton's urging, the monitorial type of instruction, originated in England by Lancaster early in the nineteenth century, was adopted by the Free School Society. Clinton hailed Lancaster as "the benefactor of the human race," and praised his system as "creating a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from heaven to redeem the poor distressed of this world from the power and dominion of ignorance." Soon the idea spread to other cities throughout the United States.

Under the monitorial plan masters taught "monitors," the older and brighter pupils, who taught other children. Not only were there monitors for instruction but there were also monitors to take attendance, to keep order, to care for equipment, and to take charge of monitors. Thus one teacher could have four or five hundred pupils in his care. Although mechanical methods, largely memoriter, prevailed, the Lancastrian schools proved highly popular. By reducing the cost of instruction sufficiently to render education of the masses feasible, they hastened the day of free schools.

Another mechanical system of education introduced about the same time as the Lancastrian was the infant school, which sprang up in England to care for children of factory workers. The first infant school in this country had its inception in the early 1800's in Boston. Like other Massachusetts towns, Boston admitted to its public schools only children who could read, thereby barring many from attending. The infant school took children of two years of age or less, which stimulated interest in extending educational opportunities to young children.

By 1830 a gradual transition from church and pauper schools to public schools had taken place. The groundwork had been laid for

free tax-supported schools. The next two or three decades witnessed "the battle for free state schools." Conspicuous leaders in the "battle" were Horace Mann and Henry Barnard.

In 1837 Horace Mann relinquished a promising legal career to accept a position as secretary of the newly created Massachusetts Board of Education. He announced: "Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth." To his friends who questioned the wisdom of his decision, he explained: "The interests of a client are small, compared with the interests of the next generation. Let the next generation, then, be my client." Of his low salary as secretary he said: "I will be revenged on them; I will do them more than \$1500 worth of good."

Mann took up his duties at a time when schools had deteriorated until they were worse than in pre-Revolutionary days. His diary and letters present a picture of apathy or opposition on the part of the people, and of ignorance and incompetence in the teachers.

To accomplish his aim of improving the schools Mann employed three methods: first, lectures delivered to conventions of teachers which were held annually in each county in the state; second, twelve annual reports to the Board of Education; third, publication, as his own private venture, of an educational magazine called *Common School Journal*.

When he resigned his secretaryship in 1848 to enter Congress, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the state school system had a sound footing. Many of the improvements that he sought had come to pass. Among them were better teachers and teaching, improved school buildings, school consolidation, improved attendance, larger school appropriations, longer school terms, higher salaries for teachers, new courses of study, better local administration, and the establishment of three state normal schools—Lexington in 1839, Barre in 1839, and Bridgewater in 1840.

Like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard forsook law to campaign for better schools. He took the stand that "the common school should not be regarded as common because it is cheap, inferior, and attended only by the poor and those who are indifferent to the education of their children, but *common* as the light and air because its blessings are open to all and enjoyed by all."

As secretary of the Board of Commissioners for Common Schools in Connecticut, as State Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island, and as first United States Commissioner of Education from 1867 to 1870, Barnard rendered notable service. However, his most memorable project, initiated in 1855 and continued for virtually the rest of his life, was the publication of the *American Journal of Education*. Its thirty-one volumes of approximately 800 pages each, replete with information about education in both Europe and America, constitute a veritable storehouse of reference material. Fittingly enough, Barnard has gained recognition as our first outstanding educational scholar.

By 1860 the idea of a free school system had been extended to every part of our country. However, while the idea of public schools was generally sanctioned, their establishment was still far from complete. A description by one of the teachers gives us insight into conditions in the Springfield, Illinois, public-school system inaugurated on April 14, 1856.

When this school was first opened, the behavior of the children indicated their joy on an occasion so auspicious. They came in numbers so great that the accommodations of the house were insufficient for them. They seemed frantic with curiosity and delight. The sudden gathering together of so many children into one school, subjected their youthful excitability to a trial for which they were wholly unprepared. Children so situated could not be expected to deport themselves in an orderly manner and with moderation. They ran, they jumped, they screamed. The boys brought their bone-rattles, and the girls and boys came with whistles. They leaped over the chairs, from desk to desk rattling, singing, hooting and screaming, in joyous exhilaration, as if the occasion and the house had been gotten up expressly for frolic and fun, and without any design whatever for study, discipline and improvement of mind and morals. They had, indeed, a notion that the school was intended for learning and saying lessons; but their ideas on this point were exceedingly vague. The feeling for pleasure and play was by far the most potent, and heartily did the glad youngsters yield their busy feet and hands and mouth to the promptings of this feeling. Self restraint was out of the question. Morning, noon and the recesses were seasons of noise, merriment and confusion, with scarcely an exception. Threats and flagellations were the chief resorts of the teacher, with any reasonable hope of being able to abate the outrageous fun.

But now, in the fourth session (spring of 1857) we have the pleasure to witness a happy change. The pupils have exhibited a high degree of natural talent. They have learned well, considering the want of discipline, and other disadvantages connected with the first attempt to organize them into a large public school. (The number then in this school was 360.) The excitement produced by the numbers and novelty of the school has manifestly declined, and the scholars have a far clearer appreciation of the order, obedience and application to study for which such an institution is designed.

The parents, also, are becoming more helpful and less inclined to be mere censors, pronouncing hasty and arbitrary judgments and harsh opinions respecting the teachers, the tax principle and the board of inspectors. People who formerly paid but little attention to the real difficulty and delicacy of the teachers' duties and responsibilities, are beginning to feel the generous sympathy which stimulates to cooperation. Among the pupils there is an increasing pride of scholarship—a feeling at first so feeble that, in the large majority of individuals, I could scarcely discern its existence. Patient and accurate study is beginning to assume the force of habit. The degradation of insufficient lessons is becoming more dreaded than the drudgery of laborious attention to the assigned portions for recitation.³

Discipline in the mid-nineteenth century was difficult. A Champaign (Illinois) paper, *The News Gazette*, told how obstreperous boys in that vicinity once barred Mr. Bruer, a pioneer teacher, from a schoolhouse at Christmas time in order to make him furnish a treat for the crowd.

Mr. Bruer did not give in easily, however, but climbed up on the roof at the corner of the log house and covered the chimney with an old blanket, and then with a board, thus smoking the boys out. By means of a long pole, poked up the chimney, the boys managed to dislodge the covering, but Mr. Bruer seized the pole and pulled it away from them. Their weapon gone, one of the boys managed to escape through the space between the logs and the roof in the attic and was chased into the woods by Mr. Bruer and caught. The others unbarred the door and captured the teacher. The trouble was finally ended by Mr. Bruer sending for a bushel of apples and a gallon of whiskey. That night the boys all met at the schoolhouse and had a celebration. The frolic was endorsed by patrons of the school and afforded what was considered "innocent fun."

³ *Third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of Springfield, Illinois* (1861), pp. 18-19.

Throughout the early national period teaching conditions remained unsatisfactory. Teachers' salaries were a mere pittance. The growing practice of employing young unskilled women who could live at home tended to keep the pay at a low level. Samuel Appleton, who later became a wealthy merchant, taught in 1786 for board, lodging, and washing, and sixty-seven cents a week. This was considered liberal pay. In 1841 the average weekly salary of women teachers in rural schools was \$2.51 and in urban schools \$4.44; the corresponding sums for men were \$4.15 and \$11.93. By 1861 the salaries for women in rural schools rose to \$4.05 and in urban schools to \$6.91, and the figures for men reached \$6.30 and \$18.07.

Records of the School District of Chesterfield, New Hampshire, supply a vivid description of conditions surrounding teaching in the 1850's. The total district expenses in 1851 were \$88.09. "But by 1854 the ugly head of inflation had reared itself and the school budget was struck a staggering blow." The total money expended rose to \$101.68. The report of the clerk of the district itemizes expenditures:

Pade Mis Ophelia T. Hubbard, teaching for 11 weeks—\$16.50; Pade Clark Streeter for horse and waggon to take Mis Hubbard home—25¢; Pade for bording Mis Hubbard 11 weeks—\$16.50; Pade Marshall Smith for repairs on privy—\$1.75; Pade Mr. T. L. Locke for teaching 10 weeks & 3 days—\$42.18; Pade Warrin Farr for bording teacher 10 weeks, 3 days—\$18.25; For two cords of wood—\$5.00. Total money expended is \$101.68.⁴

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE LATER NATIONAL PERIOD

During the latter half of the nineteenth century ideas from abroad profoundly influenced elementary education. Foremost among the men who shaped educational thought were Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel.

Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss, laid the foundation for reforms that revolutionized elementary-school practice. His thinking was colored by the theories of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), a French philosopher whose opening sentence of his book *Emile* gives

⁴ Charles L. Bowlby, "Let's Go Back to the Good Old Days," *School Executive*, October, 1952, p. 75.

a key to his belief: "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man." To Rousseau society was evil and he would have the child take his lessons from nature, not from man. He pleaded for recognition of the child as a child, not as a miniature adult, and for education suited to the level of his ability. Although Pestalozzi did not accept Rousseau's extreme individualism, he welcomed the revolutionary idea of recognizing child nature as the basis of education.

Pestalozzi defined education as the "natural, progressive and harmonious development of all the powers and capacities of the human being." In light of this definition, knowledge of the natural development of the child became essential. Pestalozzi recommended attention to the instincts, interests, capacities, and activities of the learner. A "thinking love" and kindness were to replace harsh and repressive discipline. "A wise liberty induces the child to keep his eyes and ears open and makes him happy and even-tempered." He rejected the teaching of mere words and shifted the emphasis from the book to the child's experiences and immediate environment. He advised introduction of natural objects in place of words. "Send your child out into nature, teach him on the hilltops and in the valleys. Teach him absolutely nothing by words that you can teach him by the things themselves." Observation and investigation were to replace memorization and class discussion; thinking was to replace reciting. To Pestalozzi's school in Switzerland flocked people from many lands. Visitors publicized their impressions not only through oral reports but through articles in educational periodicals and books.

In 1860, under the sponsorship of Edward A. Sheldon, superintendent of schools in Oswego, New York, Pestalozzian practices were imported into Oswego and the Oswego Normal School. So well advertised were Oswego methods that they soon gained acceptance in normal schools throughout the country. In a few decades they led to improved methods of instruction in language, elementary science, home geography, and primary arithmetic.

Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), a disciple of Pestalozzi, is sometimes called the father of modern psychology and modern methods. He introduced a new psychology and emphasized organization and technique in classroom instruction. He stressed general ideas and principles as outcomes of education and elaborated

the mental process by which they are derived. He pleaded for a general method based on the way man thinks. The "five formal steps" of the recitation, formulated by his followers, remained in vogue for several decades.

Herbart's ideas reached the United States through teachers who studied at the University of Jena under Dr. William Rein, a student and follower of Herbart. The Illinois State Normal University at Normal became the principal center of Herbartianism in this country, its leading exponents being Charles De Garmo, later president of Swarthmore College, and Charles and Frank McMurry, authors of *The Method of the Recitation*.

Herbart and his followers favored the unification and correlation of all school subjects around a central core. They enriched the curriculum with the addition of historical and literary material. They made the child the center of study.

The founding of the Herbart Club in 1892 marked the beginning of the period of modern education. In 1910, after two changes in name, it became the National Society for the Study of Education.

Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), a German educational reformer, was also a disciple of Pestalozzi. Perhaps his own sad childhood made Froebel eager to be an instrument for creating happiness in children. His years as a teacher in Pestalozzi's school altered the course of his life. In 1837 he opened the first kindergarten at Blankenburg, Germany. Until his death he devoted his time to founding kindergartens and training teachers for them.

Froebel was a contributor to the activity school movement. He believed that self-activity leads to feeling and knowing and constitutes the dynamic factor in education. He introduced activities not unlike those in modern schools.

In addition to extolling self-activity, Froebel set forth the principles of education by natural development, motor expression, creative-ness, and social participation. He believed in freedom of play because it permitted the natural development of the child's nature. He also stressed participation in organized social life. He saw in the classroom, an immature society, a chance for the child to learn coöperation.

Germans who migrated to the United States when the German Revolution of 1848 proved unsuccessful brought Froebel's ideas

with them. Mrs. Carl Schurz founded the first kindergarten at Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855. Before 1870 nine kindergartens had come into being in the United States.

The best known of the early kindergartens was opened at Boston in 1860 by Elizabeth Peabody, sister of Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mrs. Horace Mann. After a trip abroad in 1867 to study Froebelian principles, she dedicated her life to advancing the education of young children. In *The Peabody Sisters of Salem*, Louise Hall Tharp says that whenever Miss Peabody saw a sweet young girl with sufficiently saintly devotion in her eyes she would say, "My dear, you must take up kindergartening."

Thanks to Miss Peabody's efforts, the first kindergarten training school, conducted by Madame Matilde Kriege and her daughter, was founded at Boston in 1868. Four years later another was established in New York. It claimed the distinction of training Susan Blow and Elizabeth Harrison. Miss Blow directed the first kindergarten in the public schools of the United States, in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1873; William T. Harris, superintendent of schools in St. Louis, deserves much credit for encouraging her work. Miss Harrison assisted in establishing the Chicago Kindergarten College at Evanston, Illinois, in 1886; it is now the well-known National College of Education.

By the close of the nineteenth century the elementary school was a free, tax-supported public institution designed to give a type of education valuable for all pupils regardless of sex or social status. It was a graded school, usually made up of eight grades. In a few communities kindergartens were in operation. School terms had increased in length (135 days in 1890). The curriculum had expanded to include shop work, cooking, sewing, music, art, and physical education. Teachers concentrated their efforts on imparting knowledge and disciplining mind and body.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Since the turn of the century the structural organization of the elementary school has been modified in some communities by the loss of the seventh and eighth grades to the junior high school and by the addition of the nursery school. However, the nursery school has never become an integral part of our public-school system. Its

privileges, instead of being available to all, are almost entirely restricted to children whose parents want and can afford the best opportunities for them, and to children whose parents are impoverished or whose mothers are employed outside the home. Kindergartens have gained acceptance as the introductory unit of the elementary school. By 1947 a survey of 203 school systems in cities of over 30,000 population showed kindergartens operating in 139. In 1950 about 750,000 four- and five-year-olds were enrolled in public kindergartens.

The concept of its function has changed so that the elementary school is expected to do more than its traditional task of grounding pupils in the three R's. In line with modern ideas the Educational Policies Commission, in a volume entitled *Education for All American Children*, issued in 1948, stated three values to guide and direct the education of all American children. According to the Commission a good elementary school should develop "those basic skills and that sturdy independence and initiative which will enable our citizens to attack the problems that face them and to press forward toward ever-improving solutions"; strive "for the discovery and full development of all the humane and constructive talents of each individual"; and emphasize "social responsibility and the coöperative skills necessary to the progressive improvement of social institutions."

Leading changes that have occurred in practices and methods in elementary education during the twentieth century are discussed in Chapter VIII.

SUMMARY

In keeping with ideas brought from their mother countries settlers in the United States employed three methods of financing education: church, charity, and government support. Throughout the colonial period dame and writing schools supplied the rudiments of education. Teachers had little preparation; their methods were ineffective and punishments were severe. School buildings were crude, equipment meager, and books few and unattractive. After the Revolutionary War education sank to a low level. In the first part of the national period occurred an awakening of educational consciousness stimulated by migration westward and the Industrial

Revolution. By 1830 the groundwork had been laid for public education. The next three decades witnessed the "battle for free schools" spearheaded by Mann and Barnard. In the second part of the national period, from 1860 to 1900, reorganization took place within the school system as a result of ideas from abroad. Particularly influential were the theories of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel. By the turn of the century the elementary school was a free tax-supported public institution open to "all the children of all the people." It was a graded school, usually with eight grades and, in a few communities, a kindergarten. Since 1900 its structure has been modified in some instances by the loss of the seventh and eighth grades to the junior high school, and by an expansion downward to include nursery school as well as kindergarten.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Show that the character of education reflects the political and social theories of the times.
2. How and why were conditions for public education different in the northern, middle, and southern colonies?
3. Characterize early teachers in the United States.
4. What factors prevented teaching from acquiring professional characteristics?
5. What differences would have resulted if a system of schools based upon religion or social class had won out over our present system?
6. Why did the conception of education as a private or religious obligation persist after the establishment of our national government?
7. What were the educational consequences of the "Great Awakening"?
8. Prepare a report on the educational contributions of one of the following: Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Rousseau.
9. What are the values of knowing the historical background of the development of our schools?
10. Conduct a round-table discussion on the question: Would you prefer to send your child to a private, parochial, or public school?

CHAPTER V

Development of Secondary and Higher Education

AT THE opening of the present century Brown defined secondary education roughly "as education of a higher stage than that of the elementary school and lower than that of institutions authorized to give academic degrees." Now as then, we discern not "clean-cut boundaries" but "shadowy and variable" limits.

In the United States, the history of secondary education centers around three institutions: the Latin grammar school, the academy, and the high school. During the twentieth century secondary education reached downward to include the junior high school, and upward to embrace the junior or community college.

THE LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL

On the thirteenth day of the second month of 1635 the citizens of Boston voted "that our brother Philemon Pormont, shalbe intreated to become scholemaster, for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." With this modest statement was launched the Boston Publick Latin School, forerunner of the modern high school. When the school, which has been in continuous existence, celebrated its tercentenary in 1935, observance of the event was nation-wide.

Latin grammar schools in the United States were transplanted from Europe and England. They were college preparatory schools, to train young men "for the service of God, in church and commonwealth." The Boston Latin grammar school took boys of seven or eight years of age, after they had mastered the elementary art of reading in the dame school. Originally the course was seven years in length, but later the entrance age was raised to ten years and the course shortened to four.

The curriculum of the Latin grammar school was restricted to

the classics—at first only Latin, which took up about three-fourths of the time, and Greek. It was determined by the standards of colleges. Entrance requirements to Harvard show what was expected:

"When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classick Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; and decline perfectly the Paradigm's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge."

Additional information about the studies of the Latin school follows:

In the Latin school itself, the boys studied Latin from eight o'clock to eleven in the forenoon, and from one in the afternoon till dark. They began with Cheever's Latin Accidence, which was followed by Ward's Lilly's Latin grammar. The reading consisted of Aesop, with a translation; Eutropius, also with a translation; Corderius, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, Caesar, and Cicero. Of these, Caesar and the *Georgics* seem to have been less commonly used in grammar schools than the other works mentioned. In the sixth year of the course, the boy was half through Vergil. The master permitted the reading of such translations of Vergil as Trappe's and Dryden's. Composition was begun, apparently, at about the same time with the reading of Aesop or of Eutropius, and Clarke's *Introduction to writing Latin*, was the first textbook used. Near the end of the course, Horace was read, and Latin verses were composed with the help of the *Gradus ad Parnassum*.¹

Although under public control and financed in part by land grants and general taxes, the Latin grammar school drew most of its support from gifts of money and fees collected for the pupils' tuition. This meant that attendance was practically limited to boys from the more prosperous and aristocratic families. However, some poor parents, who could not send all their sons, sacrificed in order to send one chosen son as a representative of all. Brown relates that in New England, as in Scotland, when a master winnowed out a gifted scholar, "his brothers and sisters would give their wages, and the family would live on skim milk and oat cake [or their colonial equivalents] to let him have his chance."

By 1700 the Latin grammar school had reached its peak, and

¹ Elmer Ellsworth Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1903, pp. 131-132.

rumblings of popular disfavor were heard. The sturdy frontiersmen preferred to abandon the classics and to substitute studies that would prepare youth for the practical affairs of everyday living. A century later, practically every Latin school had been abandoned.

Whatever its shortcomings, the Latin grammar school kept alive interest in education above the primary level. Its traditions are probably reflected in classical college preparatory courses in the modern high school.

THE ACADEMY

The academy took form in answer to agitation from the middle-class settlers for a school with a curriculum focused to help them cope with their everyday problems. To Benjamin Franklin goes credit for chartering the first academy at Philadelphia in 1751. In 1749, six years after his initial suggestion, he outlined his ideas in "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania-Philadelphia: Printed in the Year MDCCXLIX." He noted that "the good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths," and proposed "that some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit apply for a Charter, by which they may be incorporated, with Power to erect an ACADEMY for the Education of Youth. . . ." He prefaced his suggestions for the curriculum with this observation: "As to their STUDIES, it would be well if they could be taught *everyThing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short. It is therefore propos'd that they learn those Things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*. Regard being had to the several Professions for which they are intended."

Franklin's academy had three schools—Latin, English, and mathematical—each with a separate master. Although he expected practical studies to prove most popular, Franklin found to his disappointment that they were accorded a less favorable place than classical subjects. Near the close of his life he proposed that the English school be set apart as a separate institution, but no action was taken in the matter.

Soon the new type of secondary school appeared in other states. The first academy in Massachusetts, Dummer, was established in

South Byfield in 1763. Inspiration for later schools in the northern states came from the founding of the two Phillips academies, one at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1778, and the other at Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1781. Their emphasis on practical aims is shown by a statement of the donors of the Andover school, who sought "to lay the foundation of a public free School or Academy for the purpose of instructing Youth, not only in English and Latin Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, and those Sciences wherein they are commonly taught; but more especially to learn them the Great End and Real Business Of Living."

The extent of the academy system is not known accurately. However, by 1820 academies almost exclusively supplied the opportunities for instruction at the secondary level. By 1850 there were some 6000 academies with over a quarter of a million students.

Although academies often had grants of state aid, they were mainly tuition schools under private control, usually denominational. Only in New York were they incorporated into the state school system.

One of the contributions of the academy was its admission of girls. This policy led directly to higher education for women. Seminaries for girls were established by Emma Willard at Troy, New York, in 1821; by Catherine Beecher at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1828; and by Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke, Massachusetts, in 1838.

Rules of the South Hadley Seminary, which later became Mount Holyoke College for Women, give a clue to the atmosphere in which women students lived.

1. Admission. No young lady shall become a member of this school who cannot kindle a fire, wash potatoes, and repeat the multiplication table.
2. Outfit. No cosmetics, perfumeries, or fancy soap will be allowed on the premises.
3. Exercise. Every member of this school shall walk at least a mile every day unless a freshet, earthquake, or some other calamity prevent.
4. Reading. No member of this school shall devote more than one hour each week to miscellaneous reading. The Atlantic Monthly, Shakespeare, Scott's novels, Robinson Crusoe, and immoral works are strictly forbidden. The Boston Recorder, Missionary Herald, and Washing-

- ton's Farewell Address are earnestly recommended for light reading.
5. Company. No member of this school is expected to have any male acquaintances unless they are retired missionaries or agents of some benevolent society.
 6. Time at the Mirror. No member of this institution shall tarry before the mirror more than three consecutive minutes.

Some of the "Female Seminaries" had a Normal Department where girls prepared for teaching in the elementary school. Thus the academy was a predecessor of the normal school. One can only surmise how many students destined for teaching were "of the poorer Sort" that Franklin thought might be recommended "as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue."

By the middle of the century the academy had drifted away from its original concern with practical studies and had taken on the character of a college preparatory school. Critics pounced upon such weaknesses as expense, distance from students' homes, and lack of democracy. Eventually the academy gave way to a unique school for the masses.

The academy with its hundred years or more of service left an enduring impression. It gave girls their first opportunity for more than a rudimentary education. It expanded the curriculum to embrace practical and vocational subjects as well as cultural. English grammar, composition and rhetoric, the modern languages, the sciences, the social studies, mathematics, and the arts and music—all found a place among its offerings. Here was proof that a secondary school could adapt its program to fit the changing social scene. Perhaps eclipsing all else was the fact that the academy built upon the elementary school instead of running parallel to it, thus forming a link between elementary school and college and contributing to the development of a one-track school system.

THE HIGH SCHOOL

Early in the nineteenth century several circumstances combined to bring into being an institution to replace the academy. Foremost among them was the popular demand for a free institution available alike to rich and poor. Added to this were arguments in favor of keeping young people at home rather than sending them away to

boarding school, for removing older pupils from the common schools in order to permit better instruction for younger children, and for training teachers for the common schools.

In response to these pressures a fledgling institution, the high school, emerged. In 1821 the English Classical School, the first high school in the United States, opened in Boston. It was a three-year school "with the design of furnishing the young men of the city who are not intended for a collegiate course of study, and who have enjoyed the usual advantages of the other public schools, with the means of completing a good English education to fit them for active life or qualify them for eminence in private or public station." Three years later it took the name English High School.

In 1826 Boston provided the first high school for girls, with 130 pupils chosen from 286 candidates. By the end of the second year the school had become so popular that it had to turn away applicants for admission. The clamor for larger accommodations that would involve more bountiful expenditure led to closing the school and extending the course of study for girls in the elementary schools.

Massachusetts has the distinction not only of having the first high school but, through the influence of James G. Carter, of passing in 1827 the first state-wide law providing for common secondary schools. The law did not contain the words "high school," but it specified that "every city, town, or district containing five hundred families or householders" should maintain a school for at least ten months of each year, in which should be taught, in addition to the subjects of the elementary schools, "the history of the United States, bookkeeping by single entry, geometry, surveying, and algebra." Every city or town of four thousand inhabitants was required to add to the foregoing branches "the Latin and Greek languages, history, rhetoric, and logic." These schools were to be open to all and supported by taxation.

At first, the high-school movement progressed at a snail's pace. The opposition of friends of the academy who did not wish to see it displaced by a "people's college," and of citizens who felt the burden of taxation and did not understand the purpose of the school combined to make progress difficult. Repeatedly they challenged the right of school boards to use tax funds to support high schools.

Finally a test case reached the Supreme Court of Michigan. In 1872 the city of Kalamazoo had voted to establish a common secondary school and to levy additional taxes for its support. Skepticism of the state superintendent of public instruction as to the legality of directing public funds to this purpose led a local citizen to instigate a friendly test case. The decision, written by Chief Justice Thomas M. Cooley, held that it had always been the obvious intent of Michigan to provide not only the rudiments of education but also education beyond the elementary level. He closed with this statement:

If these facts do not demonstrate clearly and conclusively a general state policy, beginning in 1817 and continuing until after the adoption of the present constitution, in the direction of free schools in which education, and at their option the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state, then, as it seems to us, nothing can demonstrate it. We might follow the subject further and show that the subsequent legislation has all concurred with this policy, but it would be a waste of time and labor. We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, or in our laws, do we find the primary-school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose.

The Kalamazoo case was a social victory for public high schools. With their legality finally clarified, they increased tremendously in number and enrollment. In 1870 records show only 160 high schools. By 1900 the count rose to 6005; by 1930, 22,237; and by 1952, 24,175. High-school enrollment has approximately doubled every decade since 1890. From 200,000 students in 1890 it reached nearly 7,000,000 in 1952. Some authorities predict a high-school enrollment of 10,000,000 by 1960.

REORGANIZING THE HIGH SCHOOL

Until the early 1900's the high school was traditionally a four-year institution based on an eight-grade elementary school. Then almost simultaneously came a reorganization that extended the secondary program downward and upward.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The downward extension began with the appearance of junior high schools about 1910 in Los Angeles and Berkeley, California, and Columbus, Ohio. For the traditional 8-4 plan was substituted the 6-3-3 plan, or some other combination such as 6-6, 7-5, or 6-2-4.

For two decades junior high schools developed fairly rapidly and by 1930 they numbered 1842. By 1952 more than half the students of secondary-school age were enrolled in reorganized schools, but less than half of the secondary schools had been reorganized.

At first, advocates of the junior high school thought that, by easing the transition from elementary to secondary school, the reorganization would strengthen the holding power of the school. A pupil would proceed gradually instead of abruptly from instruction by one teacher to instruction by several teachers; he would move slowly from a system where he studied under close supervision to one where he was largely on his own responsibility. He would have the advantage of improved provision for individual differences in guidance programs, enrichment of the curriculum, and vocational exploratory work. A gifted pupil might have a chance for acceleration with a consequent saving of time.

In light of contemporary conditions and practices, some of the claims made by early proponents of the junior high school no longer carry much weight. Vocational exploratory work is not so necessary as in the days when the ninth grade rather than the twelfth marked the end of education for the majority of pupils. Enrichment of the curriculum rather than acceleration is generally approved for gifted pupils. Most striking of all is the swing away from strict departmentalization and highly specialized teachers toward integration of learning experiences. The block scheduling of time, with one teacher keeping a group for two or more periods, is common practice.

What is in store for the junior high schools only the future can tell. Data obtained from a questionnaire which was distributed by the National Education Association recently, showed that from 1938 to 1948 the average net increase in the number of junior high schools was about 0.1 school per city for the cities in each population group. In 1598 city systems there were only 134 more junior high

schools than there had been ten years earlier. In trying to ascertain reasons for the relatively slight increase three questions were raised: "Has the movement merely reached its proper zenith? Has the junior high school plan failed to measure up to expectations? Has it been blindly adopted and misused to such an extent that its alleged values may soon be lost?"²

That future changes may be in the direction of a six-year secondary school seems to be indicated by the findings of A. W. Clevenger of the University of Illinois. He compared types of secondary schools holding membership in the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1931-1932 and 1951-1952. Three types of organization—three-, four-, and six-year schools—prevailed, with only a sprinkling of two- and five-year schools. Four-year schools outnumbered the others, representing 74.6 percent of 2399 schools studied in 1931-1932 and 60.72 percent of 3172 studied in 1951-1952. Three-year schools included 15.17 in 1931-1932, and 15.07 in 1951-1952. Six-year schools comprised 9.17 percent of the total in 1931-1932, and 22.28 in 1951-1952. As far as the schools in the North Central Association were concerned, the six-year type was the only one that gained ground in two decades.

JUNIOR COLLEGE

About the middle of the nineteenth century several university presidents proposed transferring the first two years of college work to secondary schools. Toward the close of that century, President William Rainey Harper reorganized the University of Chicago into two units. The lower one, including the freshman and sophomore years, was first called academic college and later junior college. Through Harper's influence the first public junior college to survive was established at Joliet, Illinois, in 1902.

The growth of the junior colleges has been spectacular. In 1952, they numbered 586, with 576,453 students. Of these, 322 were public and 264 were private. The former had 498,345 students, or about 86 percent of the total enrollment.

At its inception the junior college was a two-year institution that

² National Education Association, Research Division, *Trends in City-School Organization 1938 to 1948*, Research Bulletin, February, 1949, p. 38.

followed the twelfth grade of high school. In some communities it evolved into a four-year unit, Grades 11-14, closely articulated with the secondary school. The 6-4-4 plan has enjoyed considerable popularity, especially in cities where a large enrollment in high school justifies support of a junior college. Pasadena, California, which inaugurated its four-year junior college in 1928, has a particularly successful school.

At first junior colleges gave courses little or no different from those of the first two years of the four-year college, their concern being the preparation of students for transfer to senior colleges. Later, terminal courses were featured to serve the interests of students with a wide range of abilities and ages. Wherever available, these courses have proved the choice of more than half of those enrolled, many of whom are part-time students and adults.

In some states junior colleges are experimenting with programs to prepare students for a level of occupational training between the professions, which require a university education, and trades and vocations, which require only high-school preparation. Inquiries in New York revealed that a professional engineer could utilize about six technologists who had only part of the training he had had. Often a tailor-made training adapted to a certain industry is desired for a particular area. Where junior colleges have curriculums in harmony with such requirements, they have had gratifying success.

COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The broadening purpose of the junior college has brought into our vocabulary the term community college. In an address delivered at the Conference on Higher Education in 1953 A. D. Henderson of the University of Michigan delineated characteristics of a community college and its contributions to the community:

A community college is one that is community centered and for which the community assumes the major responsibility.

It is one that studies the needs for education beyond the high school in the community and builds its program on the basis of such needs.

It is one that caters to the needs of all persons who desire its services and to whom it can offer appropriate courses. This means college age youth and others beyond. It means college parallel courses and many other kinds of courses. It means full-time students and part-time stu-

dents. It means persons with intellectual talents and persons with other talents as well.

The community college is one that serves as an additional cultural center for the community.

In thus defining a community college, I am concerned with its functions. Most commonly it has a two-year program but it is not always so limited. It may or it may not be a part of the local school system.

Certain characteristics usually stand out. One is that the college serves those individuals who prefer or need to live at home, thus greatly reducing the cost to them and extending the opportunity for education, especially for persons whose families are in the lower income brackets. Thus in the midst of steadily rising costs there is preserved for these young people the opportunity to work their way through college—a good old American tradition.

Second, the college normally has a large enrollment of adults and of part-time students and keeps its plant busy fourteen or more hours a day.

Third, the community college has discovered a level of occupations in between the trades and the professions for which some college education is good preparation. These are sometimes called the technologies or the semi-professions. Our educational system heretofore has largely ignored them, but industry and other employers are now hungry for such employees.

Fourth, the community college draws the community in on its own planning. It establishes many joint faculty-citizen committees to study the program. It gets the coöperation of industry in making surveys of the needs for educated personnel. It devises courses and curriculums that meet the local needs regardless of whether they are in accord with the traditional programs of colleges.

A by-product of these efforts is an arousal of interest within the community in the work of the college, which normally leads to good community support, including financial support.

I believe that it can be demonstrated that a college program that serves the needs of a community is a genuine investment for that community. Such a program can make many contributions: an improvement in the discharge of the responsibilities of citizenship, a gain in the vocational skills of many individuals, a solution to some problems of idleness and of delinquency, an upgrading of many persons in the responsibilities, civic, vocational, and otherwise, that they can undertake, a rise in the general standard of living within the community, and a rise in its cultural level.³

³ Algo D. Henderson, "What Should Be the Relation of the College to the Community?" *Current Issues in Higher Education*, 1953. Edited by Francis H. Horn. Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 86-87.

By the middle of the twentieth century the movement for the community college had become so well defined that Phebe Ward predicted: "The challenge for the future of the junior college movement in America lies in the community college—the people's choice of America."

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

Religious motives prompted the founding of the colonial colleges. Virtually all of them were denominational and church-controlled, their primary purpose being the training of ministers. On the west gate in Harvard Yard is this inscription: "After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necesaries for our livli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and setled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave illiterate Ministry to the Churches, When our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."

In 1636 the Massachusetts assembly agreed "to give Four Hundred Pounds toward a School or College. . . ." Newtown, later named Cambridge in memory of the English university town, was selected as the site of the new college. When John Harvard, a minister who died soon after its founding, bequeathed to the college his library of 260 volumes and one-half of his estate (a sum about double what the legislation appropriated), the school took his name.

The second colonial college, William and Mary, was established in Virginia in 1692, in the language of the charter, "to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians to the glory of God."

The nine colleges that today constitute the Ivy League date back to colonial times. Their names, their location, the date of their founding, and the religious denomination they represented are given in Table 7.

In this group only the University of Pennsylvania, which evolved from Franklin's Academy, was nonsectarian. A foreshadowing of less insistence upon religious conformity, however, is noted in an

advertisement of King's College in 1754. Although the chief purpose of the college was "to teach and engage the Children to know God in Jesus Christ," in the matter of "particular tenets" everyone was "left to judge freely for himself, and to be required to attend only such Places of Worship on the Lord's Day as their Parents or Guardians shall think fit to order or permit."

Colonial colleges were small and their curriculums classical. Harvard had 20 students in 1642 and 60 in 1660. After that the number

TABLE 7. Colonial Colleges

Name	Location	Year	Religious Character
Harvard	Cambridge, Massachusetts	1636	Congregational
William and Mary	Williamsburg, Virginia	1693	Anglican
Yale	New Haven, Connecticut	1701	Congregational
Princeton	Princeton, New Jersey	1746	Presbyterian
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1753- 1755	Nondenominational
King's College (Columbia)	New York, New York	1754	Anglican
Brown	Providence, Rhode Island	1764	Baptist
Queen's College (Rutgers)	New Brunswick, New Jersey	1766	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth	Hanover, New Hampshire	1769	Congregational

decreased and remained small until the close of the century. The first sixty graduating classes had an average of only eight members.

The support of colonial colleges came from both private and public sources. Most colleges conducted lotteries to supplement the income received from donations, bequests, and fees.

In the early colleges class consciousness manifested itself in several ways. The relative status of their family determined the official listing of the students' names. At the top of the list was likely to be the son of an eminent clergyman with high social and official connections; he could be outranked only by the son of a colonial governor. Leaders on the lists occupied the best rooms in dormitories and the front places in academic processions. Students seemed indifferent about the rankings, but their families often harassed college presidents after announcement of freshman lists.

Prior to 1800 colleges grew slowly. The twenty-four in existence by that date had about one hundred professors, between one and

two thousand students, and about one million dollars' worth of property. None of them admitted women.

In the nineteenth century three events contributed to the growth of colleges. First, a provision in 1787 in the bill of sale giving the Ohio Company the right to settle lands west of the Appalachians set aside two townships (72 sections or 46,080 acres) "for the purposes of a university." Upon its admission to the Union in 1803, Ohio became the first state to benefit from this provision. The grant of two or more townships for state universities continued on the admission of each state thereafter, with the result that state universities were created in all the new western and southern states.

Second, the Dartmouth case was instrumental in promoting the growth of colleges. In the early national period people sought a different kind of education and state control over colleges. The newborn spirit manifested itself in attempts by several states to gain control of the colleges within their borders. Eventually New Hampshire tried to convert Dartmouth College, a privately endowed institution controlled by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, into a state university. The case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, where Daniel Webster, distinguished alumnus of Dartmouth, represented his alma mater. The decision, handed down in 1819, held that the charter of a college constituted a contract that the legislature could not impair. The decision had two important consequences. On one hand, because it guaranteed perpetuity of endowments it encouraged the growth of private colleges. As a result, about five hundred were opened between 1820 and 1860. On the other hand, since the states could not take over private colleges, they established their own state universities.

Third, the Morrill Act gave an impetus to the establishment of institutions of higher learning. In the middle of the nineteenth century agitation grew up against the classical type of college because it neglected the agricultural classes. Since the existing colleges ignored the swelling dissatisfaction, Morrill proposed federal aid to meet the situation. The first Morrill Act was passed by Congress in 1859, but President Buchanan vetoed it on the ground that it violated the traditional policy of leaving control of education to the states. However, the bill was passed again in 1862 and signed by President Lincoln. Under this act, income from public lands

(30,000 acres for each Representative and Senator in Congress) became available to each state for land-grant colleges to foster education in agriculture and mechanic arts. Each state was left free to decide whether the college should be made part of an already established institution or whether it should be an entirely separate institution. Today there are 69 land-grant colleges—one in each of the 48 states and the three territories, a second institution in Massachusetts, and 17 separate colleges for Negroes.

Since 1900 municipal colleges and universities have appeared. Some are called junior or community colleges, although they are usually regarded as secondary schools rather than institutions of higher learning. Others are four-year schools with programs leading to a baccalaureate degree.

NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS COLLEGES

In addition to the types of higher institutions already mentioned, there are many professional, technical, and specialized colleges. Among them are colleges for the preparation of teachers. The first normal school in the United States was a tuition school founded in 1823 by Samuel Read Hall. In the absence of professional books on teaching printed in English, Hall taught his classes by means of lectures based on his own knowledge of teaching. Later he collected his lectures into a volume entitled *Lectures on School-Keeping*, the first book for the professional education of teachers printed in English in the United States.

The first public normal school was opened in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839, with three pupils and one teacher, Cyrus Pierce, who also served as principal and janitor. The school trained teachers for the elementary level only. In this way the European double-track system of teacher education came to the United States. "Thus," says William F. Russell, president of Teachers College, Columbia University, "the American normal school always, from the start, was on a lower pay level, lower grade, less respected than the college or university; and this fact contributed greatly to the lack of development of these institutions. America has always treated the normal school as the chorus of peers in *Iolanthe* did when they commanded in song, 'Bow down, ye lower middle classes.' Under the circumstances, it was difficult for these schools

to attract the quality of student body and faculty characteristic of the college and university and legislatures customarily made smaller grants per student. It was a vicious circle; low public regard, low expenditure, less attractive, less good work, lower regard, and so on *ad infinitum*."⁴

Russell suggests that another factor in the bad start that teacher education got in the United States may have been the French origin of the "normal" school (*école normale*). Many things French were suspect among Americans, for they were under the ideological influence of countries that had been ranged against the French during the Napoleonic Wars.

However, as Russell says, "The European idea that the normal school is a sort of an on-the-other-side-of-the-tracks institution and the francophobe suspicions of any agency of Napoleonic origin, imported into the United States, are inadequate to explain the depth and strength of antiteacher education. The basic cause is a general underestimation of the work of the teacher and the school."⁵

Undeniably teacher education has waged an uphill fight. After the First World War the old two-year normal schools began to develop into four-year teachers colleges. Today many of the teachers colleges have five years of work, usually leading to a master's degree.

Despite lowly beginnings and inadequate financial support, teachers colleges have succeeded in raising their standards, until most of them are fully accredited institutions. Although not yet accorded the prestige of the best liberal arts institutions, they are gaining in stature and favor. Impartial observers concede that an appreciable number of teachers colleges have equipment, staff, and standards equal to, or better than, those of many liberal arts colleges.

HIGHER EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

Any account of the development of higher education would be incomplete without mention of higher education for women. Before the establishment of the academy, women had a dearth of

⁴ William F. Russell, "The Truce That Failed," *Improving Standards for the Teaching Profession*, National Commission of Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 1953, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

educational opportunities. Late in the eighteenth century the "Female Seminary," "Finishing School," and "Female Institute" appeared on the American scene, and paved the way for women's colleges. Indeed, some of the seminaries later became colleges.

Although not originally of collegiate rank, Mount Holyoke, founded by Mary Lyon in 1837, was the first college for women. From 1834 to 1837 Miss Lyon traveled over New England by horse and buggy and sometimes by train, expressing her views on higher education for women and trying to raise funds for establishing a college. Donations during that period ranged from six cents to one thousand dollars. Businessmen said that she was "unsexing women" and that trying to teach women was "as silly as trying to teach cows." But Miss Lyon struggled on and finally won out. She is quoted as saying, "Oh, how immensely important is this work of preparing the daughters of the land to be good mothers. If they are prepared for this situation, they will have the most important preparation they can have for any other: they can soon and easily become good teachers and then will become in all events, good members of society."

In 1833 Oberlin College, Ohio, admitted women on an equal footing with men, and twenty years later Antioch College, under the presidency of Horace Mann, also became coeducational. Nearly all state universities established after 1850 were coeducational. The older private institutions, however, did not readily relax their rules to admit women.

The tremendous growth of higher education for women is underscored by the fact that in the fall of 1952 the enrollment figure for women was 761,000. By the fall of 1953 it was expected to exceed 800,000, which was almost half again as great as the figure twelve years earlier.

The mounting enrollment has turned the spotlight on current and long-range needs of women resulting from the impact of changing social conditions. Althea K. Hottel, Dean of Women of the University of Pennsylvania, has said:

Our times call for some changes in attitudes, emphases, and perspective in the education of women students. This does not, in my estimation, require an educational revolution. It does not indicate there must be a specific core program for all women, nor a curriculum entirely different

from that offered to men. The basic values in a good and rich, creative life for the most part are comparable. For these, one turns to the humanities. While the humanities should be given primary emphasis, they must be presented more purposefully. Higher education for the survival of civilization necessarily is concerned with the critical problems of the day and with the materials pertinent to them. The needs of women themselves should be given consideration, particularly as they apply to personality adjustment, to family relationships, to their specialized interests and to the community welfare. . . . How can we best help them to know what an educated human being is, to have a clear theory of what constitutes a satisfying and significant life and to have a moral philosophy consonant with racial experience?⁶

To help answer the question phrased by Dean Hottel, a commission of the American Council on Education is carrying on a three-year study under a grant given in 1953 by the Ellis L. Phillips Foundation of New York.

SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS

The twentieth century has witnessed a remarkable expansion in all areas of higher education. Enrollment has gone up at an unprecedented rate. According to Robert C. Story of the U.S. Office of Education, the total college enrollment in this country, as of October, 1951, was 2,045,000, with an estimated 1,392,000 full-time undergraduates, 431,000 part-time undergraduates, and 222,000 graduate students, full and part-time. An unexpected upsurge brought the 1952 enrollment to 2,148,284. The peak year of college enrollment was reached in 1950, with a student body of 2,659,021 reflecting the high tide of veterans of World War II.

As Blackwell observes:

Any estimate of college enrollment trends must take into consideration not only the total number of young people of college age (18-21), but also the fact that the ratio of those desiring and able to afford a college education has increased at a fairly constant rate during the past half century. In 1900, the college enrollment in this country was only 237,592, ap-

⁶ Althea K. Hottel, "Do Present and Future Responsibilities of Higher Education Pose Special Problems in the Education of Women?" *Current Issues in Higher Education*, 1953. Edited by Francis H. Horn. Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 221-222.

proximately 4 percent of those of college age. By 1920, the college enrollment had increased to 355,215, or 8.1 percent of the college-age group. By 1940, 15.6 percent of the young people of college age were enrolled. In 1950, the percentage had reached 20 percent, if we subtract the backlog of deferred demand, i.e., the veterans. Thus, during the first half of the present century, the ratio of actual to potential college enrollment had increased five fold. One measure of the magnitude and significance of this figure is a comparison with the college statistics of Great Britain. There, only one young person in twenty-five is receiving the benefits of college training. This was our status in 1900.⁷

The President's Commission on Higher Education has declared that "American colleges and universities must envision a much larger role for higher education in the national life. They can no longer consider themselves merely the instrument for providing an intellectual élite; they must become the means by which every citizen, youth, and adult, is enabled to carry his education, formal and informal, as far as his native capacities will permit." By 1960 the Commission anticipates a "minimum of 4,600,000 young people . . . enrolled in nonprofit institutions for education beyond the traditional twelfth grade."

The sharp upturn in enrollment carries with it possible dangers. John D. Millett notes that many students lack any serious intellectual interest or capacity. "College tends to become a grand holiday, a pleasant resort, a kind of happy interlude in life. Any student seriously interested in his studies is a 'grind' and a 'bore.' In this kind of atmosphere the intellectual purposes of higher education are compromised and even abandoned." Millett warns that a second danger in the present enrollment trends of higher education is one of "under-employment" for college graduates. He cites the forecast of Seymour Harris of Harvard University that there will be more than 10.6 million college graduates in America by 1968, and only some five million professional jobs for college graduates.

The flood of students also poses a problem of financial support. Funds are not available to keep pace with needs. In 1950 the total educational and general income of accredited institutions of higher learning amounted to \$1.7 billion. According to conservative esti-

⁷ T. E. Blackwell, "What Are the Implications for Finance of the Changing Responsibilities and Opportunities of Higher Education?" in *ibid.*, 1953, pp. 145-146.

mates, higher education could utilize from three to four million dollars per year of new funds not now available.

Securing these large funds calls for tapping many sources. Invested funds, whether endowments belonging to colleges or foundation funds earmarked to support higher education, cannot supply the tremendous sums. Endowments are responsible for 10 or 11 percent of the income of private institutions and less than 1 percent of the income of public institutions. Appropriations from foundations equal about $\frac{1}{300}$ of the annual income of institutions of higher learning.

Neither can hikes in student fees absorb a substantially greater proportion of the cost of higher education. Endowed universities increased their tuition charges 52.6 percent during the ten-year period between 1940 and 1950. Tax-supported universities raised their resident fees 54 percent and their nonresident fees 81.2 percent. Yet fees accounted in 1950 for only 46.7 percent of the income of private universities and 71.7 percent for the private liberal arts college. The figure was 23.1 percent for public universities and 24.4 percent for public liberal arts colleges.

More and more colleges and universities have turned to the federal government for funds. By 1950, 27.9 percent of the current income of all institutions of higher learning came from that source. For privately endowed universities as a group the figure was 38.6 percent. However, many institutions distrust federal aid because they fear jeopardizing their independence.

Right now hopes are soaring that corporate business will undertake unprecedented responsibility for the costs of higher education. Corporation gifts, which amounted to over \$30 million in 1936, had risen to \$300 million in 1952. Large as this figure is, it is less than one-half of 1 percent of the corporate net income of this country before taxes. Since the federal corporation income tax laws permit gifts up to 5 percent, corporation support could increase tenfold within the limits now imposed by tax statutes.

One of the resolutions approved on October 30, 1951, by the board of the National Association of Manufacturers urged the membership of the Association:

To exert every effort to make available to higher education the supplementary private financial support essential to meet the educational

needs of our youth, American industry and the nation. This private support may be in the form of:

- a. Endowments, grants-in-aid, buildings and such other items as may be determined.
- b. Assistance to qualified and worthy individuals to continue their educational careers through programs of scholarship awards and other grants for education.
- c. Utilization so far as possible of the facilities, faculty and staff of colleges and universities to carry on research in pure, applied and social science and in all other areas which will prove beneficial not only to industry but to American life.
- d. Assistance to demonstrably sound organizations whose funds are raised for and disbursed to urgently-needed fields of specialized education.

Perhaps even more serious than the matter of support is the lessening respect for the integrity of intellectual life. Dean Rusk, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, stated the situation clearly in an address at the National Conference on Higher Education in 1953:

Higher education appears again to be confronted with a serious assault upon intellectual freedom. The charge of heresy is being revived in concealed form for personal political advantage. Politically determined "facts" defy objective examination and impose upon the skeptic serious risks of social and economic penalty. The ancient relation between the right to challenge and the search for truth falls victim to fear, interest, and ambition. It is not mere idle rumor which suggests that men in our public service are uneasy about reporting facts or that they elect to withhold their judgment or comment on controversial matters. Equally disturbing is the occasional report that the same fear is invading our campuses. It requires no prophet to see calamity ahead if we impose blinders upon ourselves at the very moment in our history when we need the widest and clearest vision.

The argument for intellectual freedom is obvious to this audience. I refer to it because no other present issue approaches it in fundamental importance and because each must add his voice to the swelling chorus in defense of the ancient verities. The gloomy fact is that if reckless and hostile hands are to be laid upon our colleges and universities, it is because it is judged to be politically profitable to do so. The issue is joined among our fellow citizens and those who value freedom must help take it to the public for decision.

The issues here have been confused by attempting to load upon the principle of intellectual freedom burdens which it should not be expected to bear. We are not talking about immunity to engage in a conspiracy with our enemies to destroy our free institutions or to surrender one's own mind to a political tyranny. Nor can we properly claim any special immunity from political controversy for one who himself elects to enter the political fray.

Some things we have taken for granted for so long, we have forgotten their necessity and may find ourselves undermining the foundations of our structure without knowing that we are doing so. Acts punishable by government are supposed to be acts prohibited by law, and government is expected to enforce such laws under the supervision of the courts and the constitution. We have generally held that what a man thinks, as contrasted with what he does, is beyond the reach of the law. The presumption of innocence was not devised to give the accused a sporting chance against the hounds of the law—but developed as the essential cement among men who must live together in peace despite the greatest diversity of views. The basic rights, privileges, and obligations of our constitution are far more than propositions engraved in a written document; they are the means by which a free society is held together by billions of individual decisions made every day by private citizens. They are the alternatives to police suppression, the assassin's bullet, the deadly riot, the violent revolution.

It would be possible for us to over-estimate the sturdiness of our sophisticated and somewhat fragile arrangements. The speed with which natural disaster leads to looting and the violence which flashes from panic remind us that we can take too much for granted. To gnaw away at our constitutional liberties is to risk the collapse of the entire structure. It is not enough to draw from government the minimum compliance with the constitution; not enough, for example, to say that because there are no legal restraints upon the investigatory powers of Congress, its committees are free to act in any way which suits the political purposes of its members. Our liberties will prove worthless unless we are prepared to respect them in our private dealings with each other, in the activities of private organizations, and in the activities of all instruments of government, whether subject to the courts or not.

Although the campus is much involved in the entire range of constitutional liberties, the central problem at the moment is freedom of thought and expression. Mr. Conant has recently stated a view which merits much repetition:

. . . It would be a sad day for the United States if the tradition of dissent were driven out of the universities. For it is the freedom to disagree, to quarrel with authority on intellectual matters, to think otherwise, that has made this nation what it is today. Indeed, I would go farther and say that our industrial society was pioneered by men who were dissenters, who challenged orthodoxy in some field and challenged it successfully. The global struggle with communism turns on this very point.

Vannevar Bush said some things to the Carnegie Institution of Washington last December which deserve to be much in our minds:

The search for knowledge has always been under stress. The old geometer, manipulating his triangles in a quest for release from his perplexity by logic, was never far from the barbarian and his spear. The shadow of the guillotine fell across the pages on which France recorded some of its most profound science. No man delves into the unknown who is not under sentence of death. The greatest work of man, a brain trained through the years to deal in wisdom, is destroyed in a moment by chance or malice. The inherited knowledge of the years endures, is passed on and accumulated, but even that ends if free men fail.

And further,

. . . Science has a simple faith, which transcends utility. . . . It is the faith that it is the privilege of man to learn to understand, and that this is his mission. . . . If we abandon that mission under stress, we shall abandon it forever, for stress will not cease.

The case for freedom must be taken to the public, and the colleges and universities are to be commended by their readiness to do so. Not just because the institutions of higher education are threatened with attack, nor just because it happens to be a McCarthy, a Jenner, or a Velde who this year causes the deep anxiety. We find ourselves in a period of stress when courage and deep understanding are essential to our safety, and it would fortify us for the trials to come to understand what we have too readily taken for granted. To know whence our liberties came, why they are as they are, and where we are likely to go if we abandon them will bring to bear the good judgment of the American people and result in a right decision.⁸

⁸ Dean Rusk, "What Developments in the Next Ten Years Will Change the Conditions Under Which Higher Education Works?" *Current Issues in Higher Education*, 1953. Edited by Francis H. Horn. Association for Higher Education, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 5-7.

SUMMARY

The secondary school in the United States had its inception in the Latin grammar school, which was followed by the academy and the high school. The Latin grammar school with its classical curriculum was intended to prepare young men for college. The academy came into being in response to demands for a school to educate students for the practical affairs of everyday living. It offered a broader curriculum than the Latin grammar school and opened its doors to girls as well as boys. Some of the academies had a "Normal Department," a forerunner of the normal school. Although the recipient of some public aid, the academy was really a tuition school under private control. Early in the nineteenth century the high school evolved as a result of clamor for a democratic institution to serve the needs of young people desirous of continuing their education beyond the common school but not of attending college. During the twentieth century the structure of the high school has been modified by extension downward with the organization of the junior high school and by extension upward in the junior or community college.

The founding of the early colleges in the United States was prompted by religious motives. Throughout the colonial period colleges remained small, and their curriculums classical. In the nineteenth century the growth of institutions of higher learning was fostered by grants of land for state universities, the Dartmouth case, and the Morrill Act. Since 1900 numerous municipal colleges and professional schools have been established.

The first public teacher-education institution was the normal school at Lexington, Massachusetts. Originally normal schools had two-year curriculums for the preparation of elementary teachers. During the twentieth century they have become four-year teachers colleges. Today many of these colleges have expanded their courses to five years, usually leading to a master's degree.

Higher education for women had its beginnings with the founding of Mount Holyoke College in 1837. Earlier, in 1833, Oberlin College had opened its doors to women on an equal basis with men. Currently nearly 800,000 women are attending institutions of higher learning.

The total number of students in institutions of higher learning exceeds two million. This skyrocketing enrollment poses many problems, among which are the maintenance of high intellectual standards, provision of employment for college graduates, and financial support of colleges.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Compare or contrast the Latin grammar school with the academy; with a modern public high school.
2. Trace the development of the academy movement and show its importance in the evolution of our school system.
3. Point out the significance of the Kalamazoo decision.
4. How did the founding of colleges and universities influence the public-school movement?
5. Why did education for women develop so slowly in the United States?
6. Trace the development of teacher education in the United States.
7. Summarize arguments for establishing community colleges.
8. Distinguish between the parallel and the ladder type of schools.
9. Why was the Dartmouth case significant? Should the state exercise any control over private colleges?
10. What accrediting agencies have approved the college in which you are enrolled?

Public-School Administration

"ADMINISTRATION IS concerned with getting things done." This simple statement helps us put in proper perspective the whole complicated machinery that has become necessary with the growing complexity of schools. We recognize it merely as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. In the last analysis it exists to create conditions under which learning can best take place. Upon its structure and operation hinge the kind and quality of education we offer. Dewey once observed:

"It is easy to fall into the habit of regarding the mechanics of school organization and administration as something comparatively external and indifferent to educational purposes and ideals. . . . We forget that it is precisely such things [as grouping in classes, grading, machinery of curriculum making, selecting, assigning, paying and promoting teachers] that really control the whole system, even on its distinctively educational side."

In the administration of schools in the United States federal, state, county, and local governments play significant roles. Over the years their functions have been delineated by tradition and statute. This chapter sets forth in broad outline some major features of administration.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

The federal Constitution makes no explicit reference to education or schools. We can only conjecture the reasons for the omission. Members of the Constitutional Convention, confronted with an almost superhuman task of reconciling differences, effecting compromises, and establishing a stable government, may have been too busy to take up minor problems whose solution could be deferred. If they gave any thought to education, these members, descended as they were from aristocratic ancestors, may have sincerely believed that it should be under private rather than public auspices. Possibly

more than anything else they feared a strong central government, and hence preferred to leave education in the hands of the states. Since, as colonies, many states had exhibited concern for educating their children, the framers of the Constitution may have assumed that no action was required. At any rate, not only did they make no mention of a federal school system but they took no action that required the states to set up schools.

With ratification of the Tenth Amendment in 1791, which stipulates that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the way was cleared for state school systems. Since education is not specifically allocated to the federal government or prohibited to the states, it falls within the jurisdiction of the latter.

However, the relation of the federal government to education still remains somewhat nebulous. The "general welfare clause" in the preamble to the Constitution may be interpreted as conferring authority to engage in educational activity. The preamble reads: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution, gives Congress power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." Under these two provisions the right of Congress to render financial assistance to education is generally recognized.

Certainly the federal government has always taken steps to encourage education. Its stake in the matter is inescapable in view of the fact that education constitutes the cornerstone of the democratic order.

OFFICE OF EDUCATION

As early as 1837 Henry Barnard tried to persuade authorities in Washington to create an agency that would collect and diffuse edu-

cational statistics and information. After considerable opposition a measure was passed and signed by President Johnson in 1867 authorizing a Department of Education "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the conditions and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."

Two years later the Department was reduced to a Bureau of Education within the Department of the Interior, with resultant loss of prestige and cut in budget. There it remained, its name eventually being changed to Office of Education, until 1939, when it was located administratively in the Federal Security Agency. On April 11, 1953, the Federal Security Agency became the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and its Secretary, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, was elevated to Cabinet rank. The status of the Office of Education remains relatively the same even though it is now part of a Cabinet department rather than of an independent agency.

Only the future can disclose whether or not the creation of the new Department, a step advocated by the American Council on Education in 1947, will result in the abandonment of other plans for changing the position of the Office of Education in the governmental structure. Recently, a proposal supported by the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators, has been made to make the Office of Education an independent agency of the federal government under the direction of a board of laymen appointed by the President and approved by the Senate.

In February, 1951, the administrative structure of the Office of Education was reorganized and the number of operating divisions reduced from eight to three. The activities of the Office are directed through three main channels: a Division of State and Local School Systems, a Division of Vocational Education, and a Division of Higher Education. Each division is headed by an assistant commissioner, and, in collaboration with the other divisions and a newly established Program Development and Coordination Branch in the

Office, undertakes all programming and operation within the area of its responsibility. This reorganization clears the way for dynamic leadership by the Office.

Although its main duty is "research into educational matters, the dissemination of information, and the promotion of education," from time to time the Office has been given administrative functions. It has charge of allotting federal funds to the states for land-grant colleges. For more than forty years it provided education for the native population of Alaska. From 1932 to 1943 it administered the federal-state programs of vocational rehabilitation, and in 1933 it began administering the nation-wide system of vocational education in public schools. During World War II it acted in an advisory capacity to strengthen and broaden the educational plans of the CCC and directed a program for training war workers, engineers, and scientists for the war effort.

The Office of Education is under the direction of the United States Commissioner of Education, who is appointed for a four-year term by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. Since the Office has no direct control over education, its influence comes principally from the ability and efforts of the Commissioner. Despite low budgets, inferior governmental status, and occasional political interference, it has rendered commendable service. Attention was riveted on inadequacy of funds in 1953 when Earl McGrath, the eleventh Commissioner to hold the position, tendered his resignation as a protest against drastic budget cuts which made necessary the release of 71 people on his staff.

To the average person the Office of Education probably seems very remote. Aside from sending out requests for statistical information or for information about educational programs, it ordinarily has no direct relation with the local school system. However, laymen and educators alike should acquaint themselves with the services available through the Office. Reports and publications are obtainable either free from the Office or at nominal cost from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office. *School Life*, a periodical published each month of the school year October through June, always contains timely information.

In addition to keeping abreast of its various publications, local school staffs should know about the assistance offered by the Office

through such avenues as conferences, exhibits, radio broadcasts, loans of audio-visual aids, some service to libraries, and occasional advice through correspondence.

STATE GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

The late Justice Brandeis maintained: "It is one of the happy incidents of the Federal system that a single courageous State may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory to try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country." Under this freedom of experiment our present state systems of education evolved.

As we have noted, according to the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, education is committed to the several states. In recognition of this obligation most state constitutions direct their respective legislatures to make provision for the establishment and maintenance of schools. Usually they give only this general charge. Some, however, designate structure and organization and define powers and duties of school officials.

Except in so far as restraints are placed upon it by the state constitution, the legislature is a free agent in educational matters. It sets up public schools and specifies any organization it chooses for administering them. If one method of administration and maintenance fails, it may try another. It has power to tax and to distribute taxes to local agencies. It licenses teachers and prescribes general conditions affecting their work. It sets up compulsory school laws. It may create districts, delegate authority to local communities, and require the agencies to whom authority is granted to exercise it.

As laws multiply, their interpretation and application to specific cases raise questions that are finally settled in the supreme court of the state or of the United States. Complete understanding of the legal basis of a state school system calls for knowledge of the constitution of the state, its statute law, and the interpretation of both of these by the courts.

In furnishing education the state does not act from charitable or philanthropic motives. Instead, it acts on the principle that the school is a service to the community for the benefit of the state. This point is clarified in a decision of an Illinois court.

The public school system of the State was not established and has not been maintained as a charity or from philanthropic motives. The first legislative expression in regard to schools in Illinois was in the ordinance of 1787, which declares that: "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

This declaration grew, not out of philanthropic motives, but out of a consideration of the essentials of good government. The conduct and maintenance of schools by school directors, schools trustees, and boards . . . is no less an "exercise of the functions vested in those charged with the conduct of government," is no less a part of "the science and art of government," and deals no less with the "organization, regulation and administration of a state" in its internal affairs, than the construction and maintenance of roads by the commissioners of highways; the conduct and maintenance of charitable institutions of the State by the board of administration; the inspection of factories, and the enforcement of the laws for the protection of workmen and in regard to the employment of women and children, by the factory inspectors; the performance by the industrial board of the duties imposed upon it by law, and the performance of many duties by public officials, which, however beneficial to individuals, are not undertaken from philanthropic or charitable motives, but for the protection, safety, and welfare of the citizens of the State in the interest of good government.¹

The execution of school laws is usually entrusted to state boards and educational officers. Three agencies likely to have the most direct relation with local districts are state boards of education, chief state school officers, and state departments of education.

STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Board of Regents of New York, organized in 1784, has the distinction of becoming the first state board of education. Originally formed to administer the colleges and academies which had been authorized for New York by the king of England, it was given control in 1904 of all public schools in the state. In the 1820's North Carolina and Vermont created state boards. They were joined in the 1830's by Connecticut, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Missouri, and Tennessee. Through its far-visioned secretary, Horace Mann, the

¹ *Scown v. Czarnecki et al.*, 264 Illinois 305, 106 N.E. 276.

Massachusetts State Board exerted such profound influence that other states began to set up similar bodies. The movement spread until today forty-four states have general boards of education which exercise some control over elementary and secondary schools and, in some instances, over other types of schools. (See Figure 3.)

In addition, every state has one or more boards to perform certain special educational functions. These include boards of trustees or regents for state universities, state colleges, and state teachers colleges; boards of vocational education and vocational rehabilitation; and boards to choose textbooks, certify teachers, and manage pensions and retirement funds.

The state board of education is a policy-forming legislative body that should furnish the research service and leadership essential to the formulation of sound educational policies. Its powers and duties vary from a few in some states to many in others. Studies by survey commissions and educational authorities indicate nineteen powers and duties that should be assigned by law to a state board:

1. To exercise general control over all public schools.
2. To formulate and adopt educational policies.
3. To appoint a chief State school officer, and to prescribe his duties in conformity with State law.
4. To appoint, upon the nomination of the chief State school officer, such assistants to him as are deemed necessary.
5. To adopt such rules and regulations in conformity with State law as may be necessary for its own government and for the government of all its employees.
6. To organize the State department of education upon recommendation of the chief State school officer.
7. To present to the Governor a budget covering the necessary expenses of the education department and a budget setting forth the amount of State funds that should be appropriated to the school districts of the State and to such institutions as are under the control of the State board.
8. To decide appeals from decisions of the chief executive officer.
9. To recommend to the Governor and the State Legislature such legislation as the board deems necessary for the improvement of the schools under its jurisdiction.
10. To prescribe subjects to be taught in the elementary and secondary schools of the State.

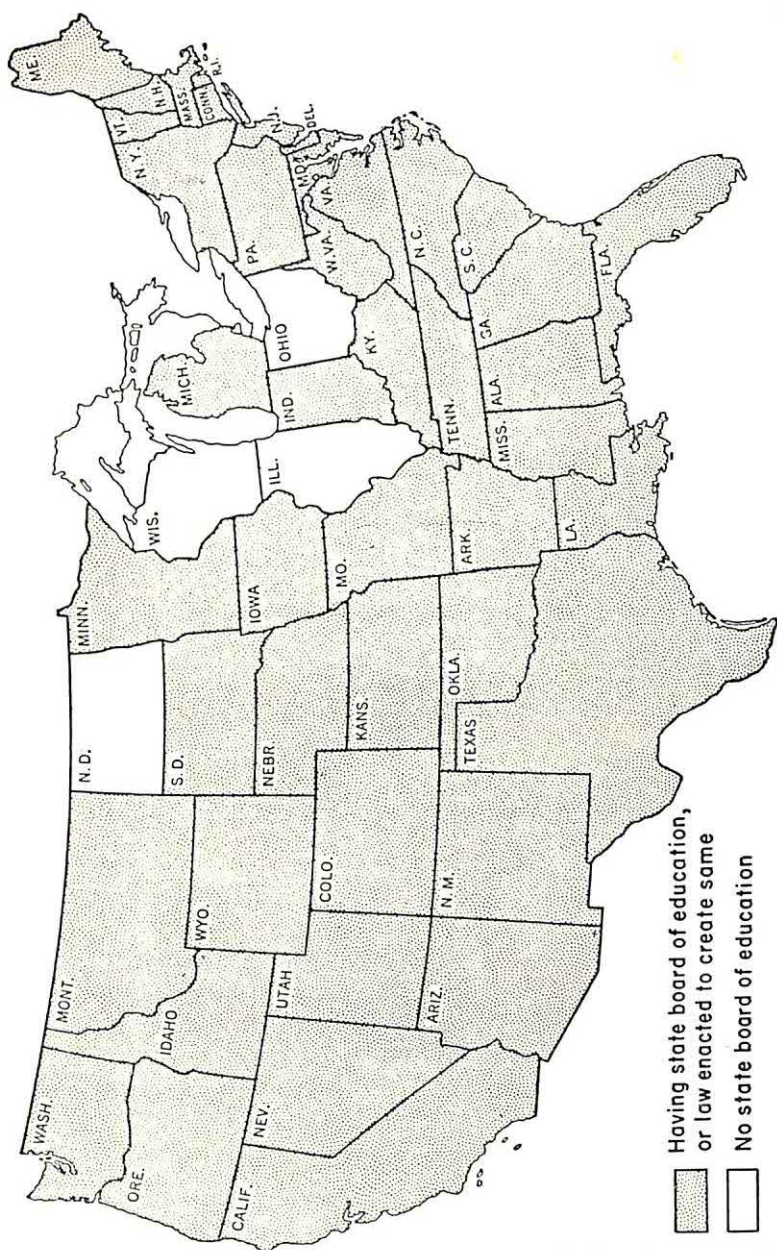


FIGURE 3. State Boards of Education, October, 1953. (Research Department, Illinois Education Association.)

11. To promote equalization of educational opportunities among all youth of the State.
12. To adopt, in conformity with State law, rules and regulations governing the distribution of State school funds.
13. To be responsible for rules and regulations governing the use of Federal funds for educational purposes.
14. To adopt rules and regulations for the construction of school buildings.
15. To adopt rules and regulations for the certification of teachers.
16. To establish rules for the accrediting of all schools of the State.
17. To determine the number and location of State teachers colleges.
18. To have final approval of the consolidation of schools and of school districts.
19. To see that all the laws relating to the schools under the board's jurisdiction are complied with.²

Sometimes, but not usually, the composition of the state board is detailed in the constitution. It falls into four major patterns: ex-officio members, appointed members, elected members, and partly ex-officio and partly elected or appointed members. The trend is away from ex-officio and toward elected or appointed members. Pertinent information concerning the composition of forty of the state boards of education is given in Table 8.

The term of office of elected or appointed members ranges from three years in two states to thirteen years in one state. The term of ex-officio members is sometimes two but mostly four years. Ordinarily terms overlap to avoid complete change of personnel at any one time.

Most states have certain qualifications or restrictions for state board members. Among those imposed in the various states are: "One member from each congressional district; one or more members must be engaged in educational work; no members shall be engaged in educational work; not more than a certain number shall belong to the same political party; no member may be connected with any textbook publishing concern; no person shall be appointed to the board who is in any way subject to its authority; no board member shall hold any other elective or appointive office in the

² Ward W. Keesecker, *State Board of Education and Chief State School Officers*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1950, No. 12, 1951, p. 107.

TABLE 8. Composition of State Boards of Education³

State	Number of Members						
	Ex-officio			Appointed or Elected			Total
	Governor	Chief State School Officer	Other State Officer	Appointed by Governor	Elected	Ex-officio	Appointed or Elected
Alabama.....	1	1	...	9	...	2	11
Arizona.....	1	1	3	3	...	5	8
Arkansas (1941).....	...	...	...	9	...	...	9
California.....	...	...	...	10	...	...	10
Colorado (1948).....	...	...	...	...	5	...	5
Connecticut.....	...	...	...	9	...	...	9
Delaware (1944).....	...	...	2	6	...	2	8
Florida.....	1	1	3	...	...	5	5
Georgia (1943).....	...	...	...	10	...	...	10
Idaho.....	...	1	...	5	...	1	6
Indiana (1945).....	...	1	...	18	...	1	19
Kansas (1945).....	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
Kentucky.....	...	1	...	7	...	1	8
Louisiana.....	...	...	...	3	8	...	11
Maine (1949).....	...	...	...	5	5 ^a	...	10
Maryland.....	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
Massachusetts (1947).....	...	...	...	9	...	...	9
Michigan.....	...	1	...	...	3	1	4
Minnesota.....	...	...	...	5	...	...	5
Mississippi.....	...	1	2	...	...	3	3
Missouri (1945).....	...	...	...	8	...	...	8
Montana.....	1	1	1	8	...	3	11
Nevada.....	1	1	...	...	5	2	7
New Hampshire.....	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
New Jersey (1945).....	...	...	...	12	...	...	12
New Mexico.....	1	1	...	5	...	2	7
New York.....	...	...	...	13 ^b	...	...	13
North Carolina (1943).....	...	1	2	12	...	3	15
Oklahoma (1941).....	...	1	...	6	...	1	7
Oregon (1941).....	1	1	1	4	...	3	7
Pennsylvania.....	...	1	...	9	...	1	10
South Carolina.....	1	1	...	7	...	2	9
Tennessee.....	1	1	...	9	...	2	11
Texas (1949).....	...	...	...	...	21	...	21
Utah.....	...	1	...	...	9 ^c	1	10
Vermont (1947).....	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
Virginia.....	...	...	...	7	...	...	7
Washington (1947).....	...	...	...	...	12 ^d	...	12
West Virginia (1947).....	...	1 ^e	...	9 ^e	...	1	10
Wyoming.....	...	1	...	6 ^f	...	1	7
Total.....	9	20	14	251	68	43	362

^a Five appointed by governor, and five others appointed by certain educational associations, one from each association.

^b Appointed by the state legislature, 1 from each of the 10 judicial districts and 3 at large.

^c Selected by regional school board conventions.

^d Two from each congressional district elected at conventions of representatives of boards of directors of school districts.

^e State superintendent has no vote.

^f Appointed by the chief state school officer with the approval of the governor.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

State."⁴ Although educational qualifications are not prescribed by law in any state, most state board members have attended college.

Appointed or elected members usually receive no compensation other than for expenses incurred in attending board meetings. In one-third of the states all except ex-officio members receive a *per diem* or small honorarium.

THE CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER

Not only was New York the first state to have a state board of education but it was also first to create the position of chief state school officer. Early conceptions of the functions of the office are shown in the New York Act of June 19, 1812.

I. Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, that there shall be constituted an office within the State, known and distinguished as the superintendent of common schools, which superintendent shall be appointed by the council of appointment, and shall be allowed an annual salary of \$300, but not to be under pay until he shall give notice of the first distribution of school money, payable in the same way as is provided for other offices, by the act entitled "an act for the support of government."

II. And be it further enacted, that it shall be the duty of the superintendent aforesaid, to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the common school fund, and for the better organization of common schools; to prepare and report estimates and expenditures of the school moneys, to superintend the collection thereof, to execute services relative to the sale of lands, which now are or hereafter may be appropriated, as a permanent fund for the support of common schools, as may be by law required of him; to give information to the legislature respecting all matters referred to him by either branch thereof, or which will appertain to his office; and generally to perform all such services relative to the welfare of the schools as he shall be directed to perform and shall prior to his entering upon the duties of his office, take an oath or affirmation for the diligent and faithful execution of his trust.

Like New York, the other states needed someone to represent them in the work of maintaining schools. Furthermore, someone had to represent the state in dealing with local boards. Someone had to disburse state funds, part of which came from permanent funds that had been accumulating for a number of years. Someone

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

had to receive reports, compile statistics, and see that funds were granted and used according to law. The growing awareness of state responsibility for education and the increasing volume of legislation called for an officer to acquaint lawmakers with the wishes of voters and to help arouse public sentiment for schools. To meet these needs, the states began to provide for state school officers.

Today each state has a chief state education officer, most frequently called superintendent of public instruction or commissioner of education. In thirty-three states authority for his office is derived from the state constitution, and in fifteen from statutory enactments.

Salient information on method of selection, term of office, salary, and general organizational structure is summarized in Table 9. Examination of the table shows that in January, 1949, 31 state school officers were elected by the people at popular elections, 7 were appointed by the governor, and 10 were appointed by the state board of education. This latter method is considered the most satisfactory because the office can be divorced from politics which means that the officer can devote his time and energy to professional duties rather than to political activities. Moreover, his tenure depends not upon the uncertain turn of the wheel of political fortune but upon merit. Since residence in the state is not a prerequisite for appointment, the board is free to seek the best-qualified person in the country.

The term of office of chief school officers elected by popular vote is two or four years, corresponding to the terms of other elected state officials. The terms of those appointed by the governor usually coincide with the term of the appointing governor. Of the ten selected by state boards, six serve definite terms and four continue in office at the pleasure of the board. Educational authorities generally prefer a plan that permits the chief state school officer to remain in office as long as his services are satisfactory.

The salaries of chief state school officers are often not commensurate with the importance of the position. In 1948 they ranged from \$3300 to \$20,000, with a median of \$6600. In order to attract and retain the right kind of officials, salaries in many states should be raised.

In 22 states the chief state school officer is a member of the state board of education. Such membership violates approved practice by combining policy-making and policy-executing functions.

TABLE 9. Chief State School Officer: Salary, Term of Office, Method of Selection, and Relationship to the State Board of Education, January, 1949⁵

State	Salary (1948)	Term of Office (years)	Method of Selection		Relationship of Chief State School Officer to State Board of Education				
			Popular Elec- tion	Appointed by Governor State Board of Edu- cation	Mem- ber	Presi- dent or Chair- man	Secre- tary	Execu- tive Officer	
Alabama.....	\$ 5,700	4	X	...	X	...	X	X	
Arizona.....	5,000	2	X	...	X	...	X	X	
Arkansas.....	5,000	2	...	X	...	...	X	X	
California.....	12,000	4	X	...	X	...	X	X	
Colorado.....	4,000	2	X	...	X	X	...	...	
Connecticut.....	10,000	a	...	X	...	...	X	X	
Delaware.....	10,000	1	...	X	...	...	X	X	
Florida.....	9,000	4	X	...	...	...	X	X	
Georgia.....	7,500	4	X	...	...	...	X	X	
Idaho.....	4,000	4	X	...	X	...	X	X	
Illinois ^b	9,000	4	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Indiana.....	7,200	2	X	...	X	X	...	X	
Iowa ^b	6,000	4	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Kansas.....	5,000	2	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Kentucky.....	5,000	4	X	...	X	X	...	X	
Louisiana.....	7,500	4	X	...	...	...	X ^c	X	
Maine ^b	7,000	3	...	X	...	...	...	...	
Maryland.....	15,000	4	...	X	...	...	X ^c	X	
Massachusetts.....	11,000	5	...	X	...	...	...	X	
Michigan.....	7,500	2	X	...	...	...	X	X	
Minnesota.....	8,000	6	...	X	X	...	X	X	
Mississippi.....	7,500	4	X	...	X	X	...	X	
Missouri.....	7,500	a	...	X	...	...	...	X	
Montana.....	4,200	4	X	...	X	...	X	...	
Nebraska ^b	5,000	4	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Nevada.....	4,800	4	X	...	X	...	X	X	
New Hampshire.....	8,000	a	...	X	...	...	X	X	
New Jersey.....	15,000	5	...	X	...	...	X	X	
New Mexico.....	6,000	2	X	...	X	...	X	X	
New York.....	20,000	a	...	X	...	...	...	X	
North Carolina.....	6,600	4	X	...	X	...	X	X ^d	
North Dakota ^b	3,300	2	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Ohio ^b	6,500	4	...	X	...	...	...	...	
Oklahoma.....	4,800	4	X	...	X	X	...	X	
Oregon.....	6,600	4	X	...	X	...	X	X	
Pennsylvania.....	12,000	4	...	X	X	X	...	X	
Rhode Island ^b	6,000	2	...	X	...	...	...	...	
South Carolina.....	7,500	4	X	...	X	...	X	...	
South Dakota ^b	4,800	2	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Tennessee.....	6,600	2	...	X	X	X	...	X	
Texas.....	6,000	2	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Utah.....	6,000	4	X	...	X	X	...	X	
Vermont.....	6,000	a	...	...	X	...	...	X	
Virginia.....	9,900	4	...	X	...	...	X	X	
Washington.....	4,000	4	X	...	...	X	...	X	
West Virginia.....	6,000	4	X	...	X	...	...	X	
Wisconsin ^b	6,500	4	X	...	...	...	...	...	
Wyoming.....	4,800	4	X	...	X	...	...	X	
Total.....		...	31	7	10	21	9	25	34

^a Indefinite.

^b No state board of education.

^d Serves as executive officer except for fiscal affairs.

^c Serves as secretary-treasurer.

⁵ Fred F. Beach and Andrew H. Gibbs, *The Structure of State Departments of Education*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Miscellaneous No. 10, 1949, p. 10.

In 25 states the chief school officer serves as secretary and in 34 as executive officer of the board. Sound practice requires that he be the single executive officer for the policy-determining board.

STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The chief state school officer should be the administrative head of the state department of education. Subordinate to him in each state are professional employees who make up the staff of the state department of education. In January, 1949, the forty-eight state departments of education employed 3548 full-time professional staff members. Most of the larger state departments have divisions in charge of specialists in certain areas such as vocational education and rehabilitation, instruction, school lunch, administration, secondary education, elementary education, Negro education, and special education.

To carry out its functions effectively, the internal organization of the state department of education must be conducive to genuine teamwork. No prevailing pattern is discernible in the departmental organization in the forty-eight states. In states where sound principles have been observed, services are closely coordinated, with departments having few major divisions and each division having to do with related areas of service.

Figure 4⁶ shows the functional organization in the State Department of Education of Massachusetts.

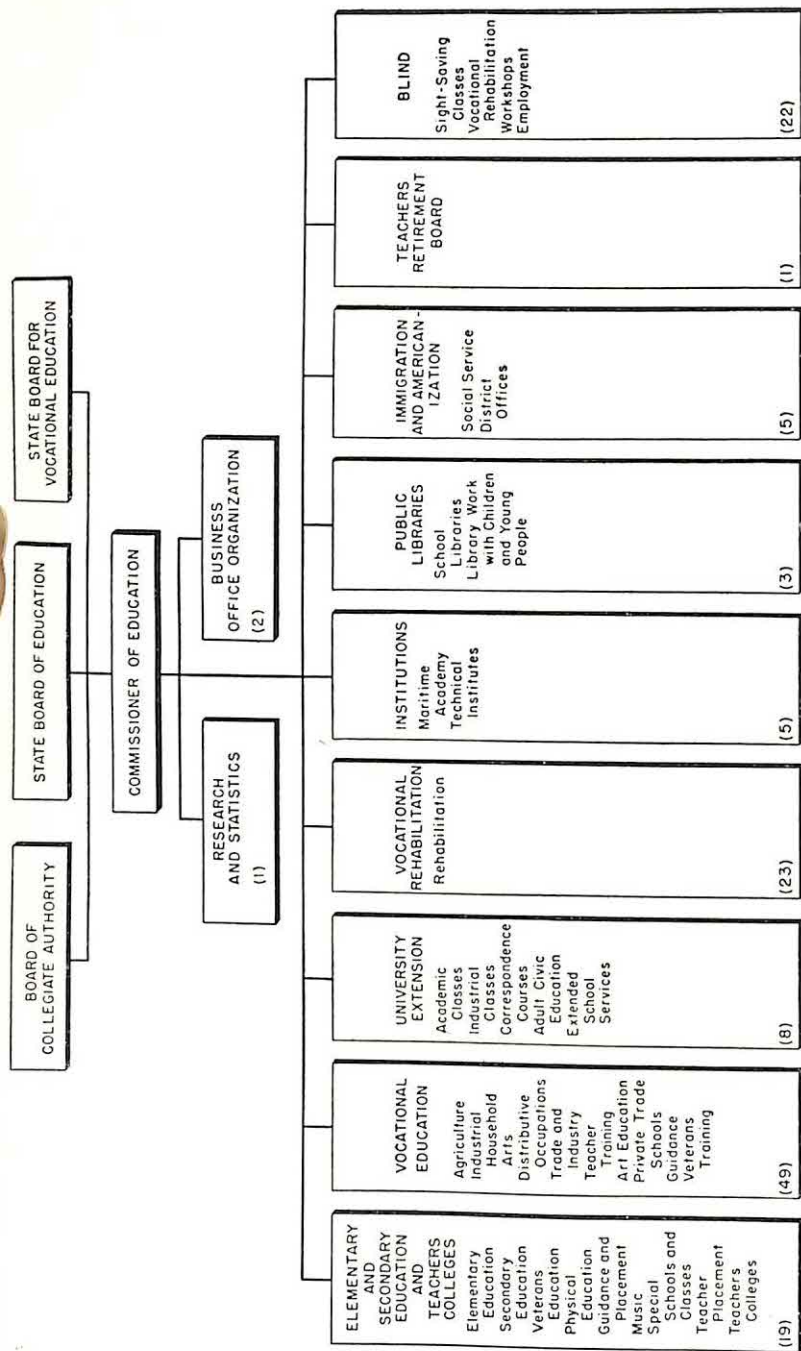
Originally the duties of state departments of education were mostly clerical and statistical. Today Beach classifies them into three major categories: leadership, regulatory, and operational.⁷

Leadership functions include making long-range plans for state educational enterprises; carrying on research and assisting in the research activities of other groups and agencies; providing consultative and advisory service to the governor, legislature, school systems, and the public in general; coordinating educational programs in the state; and maintaining a vigorous public-relations program in behalf of education.

Regulatory functions serve to protect the lives and health of chil-

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

⁷ Fred F. Beach, *The Functions of State Departments of Education*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Miscellaneous No. 12, 1950, p. 3.



Total Professional Staff = 139

(1) *State Board of Education*: Composed of nine members with overlapping 9-year terms, appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council. (2) *Commissioner of Education*: Appointed by the State Board of Education for a 5-year term. Serves as Executive Officer for the State Board of Education and Executive Officer for State Board for Vocational Education. (3) *Comments on Organization*: The State Department of Education is composed of nine divisions as follows: Elementary and Secondary Education and Teachers Colleges; Vocational Education; University Extension; Vocational Rehabilitation; Institutions; Public Libraries; Immigration and Americanization; Teachers Retirement Board; Blind.

FIGURE 4. Functional Organization Chart for State Department of Education in Massachusetts.

dren and youth; to guarantee economy in the use of educational funds; to promote efficiency in the management of school affairs; to fix minimum standards that apply uniformly throughout the state; and to set up regulations, carry on inspection, and determine compliance with requirements, and where necessary instigate compliance procedures.

Operational functions, unlike leadership and regulatory functions, are not universally recognized as appropriate obligations of a state department of education. They take the department into activities similar to those engaged in by local school authorities. They may include: (1) operation of schools which provide instruction on the elementary, high-school, and college levels, including teachers colleges, trade schools, correspondence schools, and schools for exceptional children; (2) classes, particularly in citizenship, adult education, and trades, for instruction below college grade; (3) programs of service directed to the public at large, such as state libraries, state museums, state archive and history units, film production units, and film libraries; (4) programs of service to individuals, such as vocational rehabilitation programs for persons over the age of sixteen, teacher-placement services, and teacher-retirement services.

IMPROVING ORGANIZATION AT THE STATE LEVEL

If state educational machinery is to operate to the best advantage it must be modernized to permit efficient performance of basic services and functions. A composite picture of good practices with respect to the state board of education, the chief state school officer, and the state department of education, which now prevail in some states is given in the following summary:

Lay control of the State education program.—The people of the State are represented in education matters by a lay State board of education. Authority and responsibility for the State elementary and secondary education programs are vested in the State board of education. Such responsibility, of course, includes vocational education and all other phases of elementary and secondary education. The State board is composed solely of able laymen who serve long overlapping terms and are not subject to reappointment or reelection. Members are selected at large in the State in a manner which frees them from partisan political control and makes them truly representative of the will of the people. Members rep-

resent no special interest as such and do not receive salary but do receive actual expenses for attending board meetings or a per diem in lieu of subsistence.

The State board of education serves as the single policy-making body for the State elementary and secondary education program.

Professional administration of the State education enterprise.—The administration of the State education enterprise is delegated by the State board to a highly qualified professional chief State school officer. The most important task of the State board of education is the selection of the person to serve as its sole executive officer and head of the State department of education. He is charged with responsibility for carrying out all policies adopted by the State board. His powers and duties and tenure of office are determined by the State board.

Board authority for internal organization.—The State board of education, upon the recommendation of its professional executive, determines divisioning and staffing of the department. The chief State school officer continually studies the education needs of the State. In light of these needs, he makes recommendations from time to time to the State board regarding the staffing and internal organization of the department. He proposes plans for organizing the staff so that the personnel works as a unit in furthering the improvement of education in the State. These plans provide for few major divisions composed of related services, with subdivisions as necessary, similarly composed. The internal organization machinery is simple and flexible and provides for thorough coordination of work.⁸

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION

The state delegates to local administrative units authority to maintain schools. Classification of these units is very complex, for at least sixty different names for them appear in state laws. However, on the basis of function they may be divided into two groups: basic and intermediate units.

BASIC UNITS

According to the National Commission on School District Reorganization, "A basic unit of local school administration is an area in which a single board or officer has the immediate responsibility for the direct administration of all the schools located therein. Its distinguishing feature is that it is a quasi corporation with a board

⁸ Beach and Gibbs, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

75,000 operate one-room, one-teacher schools originally established to meet frontier conditions when schools had to be within walking distance of the pupils and the size of the district was almost literally determined "by the length of the children's legs." Despite the disappearance of nearly half of the one-teacher schools during the thirty years from 1917 to 1947-1948, these small schools still account for about one-half of all the schools in the nation. They employ one-twelfth of all the teachers, and serve one-fifteenth of all the pupils.

Efforts to reorganize local school districts into administrative units large enough to furnish satisfactory programs have often been directed toward replacing small schools with big ones. "Such thinking often falls far short of the mark. Too often the enlarged, consolidated schools have succeeded only in reproducing the city pattern both in physical structure and in type of program offered. Too seldom have the new school buildings, the enlarged staffs employed, or the new programs of instruction instituted reflected the educational needs peculiar to rural communities or utilized the rich educational potentialities of the rural environment."¹²

The current concept of reorganization accents enlargement of the administrative areas served by a rural school system rather than a consolidation of attendance areas that will concentrate children in a single school building. These larger administrative units usually include more than one attendance area. Appropriate criteria for reorganization of the system are offered by the Educational Policies Commission:

1. *Number of Pupils.* A satisfactory district has at least 1,200 pupils between ages six and eighteen. If it has a much smaller number, it can offer a good program only at great cost per pupil. The more pupils it has up to 10,000, the broader the program it can offer at reasonable cost. If its enrollment is much below 10,000, it teams up with other basic units in a larger intermediate district in order to supplement its services.

2. *Size and Qualifications of Staff.* A satisfactory district has a corps of teachers, each one qualified to do a particular job well. It can provide one or more teachers for each grade or subject. It can employ specialists to give help in reading difficulties, health education, music, art, vocational education, attendance problems, and pupil guidance. It can assemble a

¹² Walter H. Gaumnitz and David T. Blosc, *The One-Teacher School—Its Mid-century Status*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Circular No. 318, 1950, p. 2.

competent staff of administrators, supervisors, and clerks to help teachers teach better and to set up good conditions for learning.

3. *School Districts and Schools.* A satisfactory district is either big enough to provide all needed educational staff and services or it supplements its efforts by being part of a large intermediate district. It may belong to the intermediate district for such services as supervision, transportation, and guidance and programs at the junior college level.

A satisfactory district has one or more elementary schools, at least one high school, and where possible a junior college. The location of schools and the area which each serves are determined by three basic factors:

1. The number of pupils and teachers needed for a good program.
2. The travel time required of pupils.
3. The natural community groupings.

4. *Administration and Finance.* A satisfactory district, whether basic or intermediate, has its own board of education responsible to the people of the district. The superintendent is the chief executive officer responsible to the board. The board has ample resources from district and state funds to provide essential services on a sound basis.¹³

The School Board. The immediate governing body of a district is a board, variously known as a school committee, board of school trustees, board of education, or board of directors. By court decision such a board has been held to be a state agency rather than an adjunct of local government. It operates under state sanction and is the legal educational authority for a district. It may delegate authority, but responsibility for the conduct of schools is under its jurisdiction. It may even be held personally responsible for money not spent according to law.

The board is a policy-making body with broad prerogatives, but its powers and duties are limited by state law. In general, however, it has power to map out the general education program; to appoint the school personnel; to fix salaries, draw up budgets, and keep account of the money raised locally; to fix the length of the school year; to enforce compulsory attendance laws; to determine when and where buildings shall be erected; to determine the curriculum except for the subjects prescribed or forbidden by the state; to make rules and regulations for the management of the schools; to pur-

¹³ National Commission on School District Reorganization, *A Key to Better Education*, Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, 1947, pp. 10-11.

chase materials; to provide transportation; and to do what is ordinarily deemed necessary to keep the schools in operation.

Some features of school boards should be pointed out. Boards are chosen in different ways. About 85 percent are elected by popular vote, the rest being appointed, usually by the mayor, city council, city manager, judges, or some other city, county, or state agency. In communities where board members are elected, they are usually chosen on a nonpartisan basis and at large rather than by wards or districts. Election by wards has proved unsatisfactory because members feel that their first duty is to their ward rather than to the entire city. Most boards have from five to nine members with terms of three to five years. To assure continuity and to avoid upheavals based on strong feelings or political considerations, the terms are staggered or overlapping. Ordinarily members serve without pay.

Although special qualities have not been determined for board members, it is generally agreed that they should be sensible, fair, tolerant, coöperative, civic-minded, honest, and courageous. They should represent all the people of the community, not any one interest or group. They should have a sincere desire to minister to the educational needs of all the children in their district. Added to all these qualities should be an ability to direct the business affairs of the school.

The board elects its officers at the first meeting after an election. The usual officers are a president, who presides at the meetings, and a secretary, who records the meetings and sometimes also serves as treasurer.

Superintendent of Schools. According to accepted educational theory, the lay board determines matters of overall policy and the superintendent and his staff carry them out. Until the nineteenth century the board tried to supervise all phases of school operation. Finally, the task became so vast that schoolmen were employed to execute policies. In the 1830's Buffalo (New York), Louisville, Providence, St. Louis, and Springfield (Massachusetts) appointed superintendents for their districts. By 1870 twenty-nine other cities scattered throughout the United States had followed suit. Thereafter other cities rapidly joined the movement and the office of superintendent was firmly entrenched. Today only two states, Florida and West Virginia, do not have city superintendents.

At first the superintendent was little more than a head teacher with supervisory duties. He looked after the purchase and distribution of supplies and the operation and maintenance of buildings, and he collected data about the school system. Eventually he rose from a lowly to a leading place. Selected and employed by the board of education, he is its chief executive officer charged with carrying out its program. He is looked upon as a professional adviser of the board. He is usually responsible for every aspect of administration, both business and educational. He is in charge of the selection and improvement of teachers and of what is taught and how it is taught. His influence extends beyond the confines of the school to the entire community. His is a key position of leadership.

In a smooth-running school organization only the chief executive is legally responsible to the board. However, in all but the smallest systems he has administrative and supervisory assistants to whom he turns over responsibility and authority.

The organization shown in Figure 6 is used in Lincoln, Nebraska. It is a modification of the plan proposed by Hill and Brownell, directors of the Cooperative Study of the Lincoln Schools.¹⁴ It will be noted that a single executive is responsible for all the activities of the schools.

Many school systems recognize the need for setting up machinery so as to assure democratic administration. For years the superintendent was considered to be more sympathetic with the board than with the teachers. He handed down orders and directives to persons under his authority. Today he is regarded not only as the agent of the board but as the representative of the teaching staff. He keeps the machinery of administration running smoothly, but he avoids using his authority to make arbitrary decisions. He affords teachers an opportunity to participate in enterprises that concern them, and he encourages them to exercise leadership in accordance with their interests and abilities. Superintendent and teachers plan together, share their experiences, and jointly evaluate their achievements. Thus they truly cooperate in operating the schools.

Not only is the entire school staff drawn into shaping school

¹⁴ Clyde M. Hill and S. M. Brownell, *Lincoln Looks Ahead*, Board of Education, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1947, p. 92.

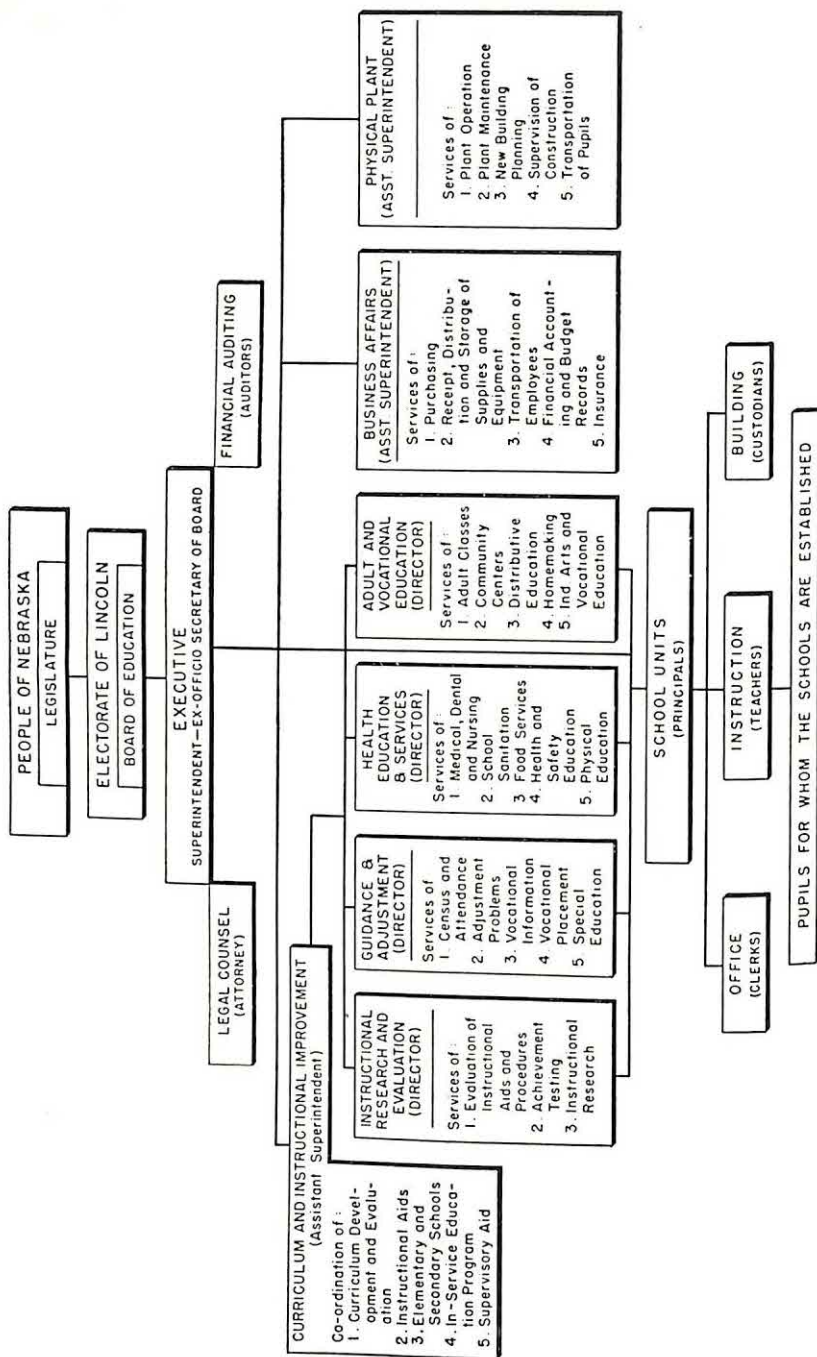


FIGURE 6. Administrative Organization of Lincoln, Nebraska, Schools.

policy, but the lay public is also asked to share the responsibility. No longer need the people's natural interest in their schools be displayed as in Lichty's cartoon that has the legend, "Who says I don't take an interest in his education? . . . don't I complain about taxes, find fault with the system, criticize the teachers? . . ." Through coöperative educational planning, interest is turned into constructive channels. In 1949, to help people work for better schools in their own communities, a group of laymen with Roy E. Larsen, president of Time Inc., as chairman, formed a National Citizens' Commission for Better Schools with headquarters in New York City. The Commission serves as a clearing house so that any community or group concerned with school betterment may benefit from the experience of similar bodies. Inspired by the Commission, nearly two thousand local groups have organized themselves into special committees to arouse in their communities the intelligence and the will to improve the public schools. These committees act in an advisory capacity and have no legal basis.

INTERMEDIATE UNITS

Operating between the state department of education on one hand and the local district on the other is the intermediate unit. As defined by the National Commission on School District Reorganization, it is "an area comprising the territory of two or more basic administrative units and having a board, or officer, or both, responsible for performing stipulated services for the basic administrative units or for supervising their fiscal, administrative, or educational functions."¹⁵ Its officer or board exercises only supervisory or service functions in relationship to basic units.

With the exception of Delaware, Nevada, and twelve county-unit states, all the states have intermediate units. They are of three types: supervisory union, township, and county.

In New England and New York, school districts are grouped into supervisory unions composed of two or more basic local units. Their superintendents or supervisors, usually professionally qualified men, are appointed, often for indeterminate terms. Tenure is long and salaries are above the national median for rural superintendents. Duties are limited in scope and effectiveness.

¹⁵ *Your School District*, p. 52.

The superintendent of a supervisory union administers the schools of two or more towns, not necessarily adjoining. He is neither a city nor a county superintendent, although his position has some features of both.

In a few states the township performs the functions of an intermediate unit. Usually, however, it is not comparable to a county unit or to a supervisory union.

In twenty-seven states the county is the intermediate unit.¹⁶ Only sixteen of these states have county boards of education. All twenty-seven have county superintendents. In seven these officers are appointed, but in twenty they are elected by popular vote, often on a party ballot. They are often considered county officers whose status is defined by law, rather than educational personnel officers.

Many factors tend to hinder the effective functioning of the intermediate-unit superintendent. He usually secures his office by popular vote, often on the regular party ticket. He is a member of the civil government of the county, with "many of the trappings of political office" which tend to deter educational leadership. His duties are handed down by the state and by tradition and often are delegated directly to local school boards. Since he must work with numerous local boards, he has difficulty in unifying educational services. The reorganization of school districts means that he must devote more school funds and more thought to problems involving school transportation. Always he is hampered by the lack of funds to provide educational services that will supplement and enrich local programs.

Reorganization of local school units on a natural community basis, as contrasted with a township or district basis, has altered the nature of the county superintendent's work. With this type of reorganization he is not so much a supervisor and business manager as a consultant on professional matters. Excerpts from a report by McClure compare his old and new duties:

Hiring of teachers: Before reorganization—direct recommendation to local boards. After reorganization—advising local superintendents on employment policies.

¹⁶ The county as an intermediate unit should not be confused with the county as a basic unit in the twelve county-unit states. In these twelve states independent city districts in the county units are administered directly by their local city superintendent and other schools are administered directly by a county superintendent of schools.

Supervision of teaching: Before—direct and personal contact with teachers; visits to classrooms. After—indirect supervision, only; works through local superintendents.

In-service training: Before—arranging an annual teachers institute. After—coordinating county-wide institutes, workshops, curriculum studies. (Here, county superintendents are providing valuable services.)

Special subject-matter areas: Before—trend for art, music, industrial arts supervisors to operate through county school office. After—trend for local districts to hire their own. (But many local districts are still too small to employ special instructors.)

Health, guidance, special education: Before—when supplied, usually operated at county level. After—more are operated by local districts. (Many schools don't have them; in many others, services are poor.)

Public relations, finances, recordkeeping, school business affairs: Changes are similar. Local schools are taking over jobs formerly done in the county office. "As schools reorganize," the study reports, "there's a tendency for functions of the county superintendent's office to become ritualistic."¹⁷

Illustrative of the expanding services and activities of the county superintendent's office is a list reported for Los Angeles County, California.

1. A visual-aids library consisting of 8000 films and a proportionate number of film strips, slides, recordings, and study prints. These instructional aids are purchased by an annual contribution from the local districts of 50 cents per child in average daily attendance. The county superintendent's office provides the supervisory assistance and transportation necessary for making these teaching aids readily available for constructive use in every district.
2. Two special schools maintained in sanitariums and hospitals to meet the special needs of physically handicapped children.
3. Eight special school programs, maintained under the cooperative supervision of the office of the county schools and the county probation department, for boys and girls of elementary and junior high-school age who for some reason are not able to adjust to the normal program.
4. A special director of trade and industrial education to assist with the development and operation of trade and industrial education programs in the local districts.

¹⁷ William P. McClure, *Role of the Intermediate Type of County Superintendency*, in *Education Summary*, October 5, 1952, p. 2.

5. A number of psychologists who assist the local districts in setting up their guidance and counseling programs and give individual help in cases of serious maladjustment.

6. A cooperative school library service.

7. A coordinator of speech education who gives speech diagnostic services to children in the local districts.

8. An audiometer-telebinocularist who tests the hearing and vision of children, organizes otological clinics, and gives guidance and counsel to local districts in developing testing and remedial programs.

9. School nurse service.

10. A training program for school custodians.

11. A four-week summer workshop for teachers developed thru the cooperation of the county school office, the state department of education, and the colleges and universities located in the county.

12. An extensive program of instructional supervisory services and curriculum development.¹⁸

SUMMARY

All three branches of government—federal, state, and local—have some functions and responsibilities in the conduct of education. Although the federal government exercises no direct control over education, it has a national advisory and research agency, the Office of Education, which promotes the cause of education and discharges some administrative functions. At the head of the Office is the United States Commissioner of Education. The state has the obligation of providing for education. The execution of school laws is usually in charge of a state board of education, a chief state school officer, and a state department of education. The state delegates to local administrative units power and responsibility for maintaining schools. The immediate governing body of a district is usually a local school board. The executive officer of the board is a local superintendent of schools who may have supervisory and administrative personnel to assist him. Operating between the state department and the local district is usually an intermediate unit which may be supervisory union, township, or county. The officer or board of the intermediate unit has only supervisory or service functions in relationship to basic units.

¹⁸ American Association of School Administrators, *The American School Superintendency*, Thirtieth Yearbook, 1952, p. 372.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. If there is a state department of education in your state, what are its duties and powers? How are its members chosen?
2. How is the chief state school officer in your state chosen? What are his duties and powers?
3. What conditions in American life account for a high degree of local control of education? Point out the strengths and weaknesses of such control.
4. How did the need for increased state control of education arise?
5. What types of school districts are there in your state? Have their number and type changed in the last decade? If so, give reasons for the changes.
6. How are members of the school board chosen in your local district? What is the educational and occupational background of the present members? Consult the school law of your state to find out the powers and duties of the local board. If possible, invite a school board member to visit your class and discuss the functions of the board.
7. Enumerate the principal duties of a city superintendent of schools. If possible, invite a city superintendent to visit your class and discuss his duties.
8. Study a school system in order to ascertain the extent to which teachers participate in formulating school policies.
9. How can lay participation in school affairs be encouraged? What provision is made for lay participation in your home community?
10. Prepare a report on one of these Yearbooks of the American Association of School Administrators:

Public Relations in American Schools

School Boards in Action

The American School Superintendency

11. Present arguments for and against having the U.S. Office of Education supervised by a national board of lay members empowered to select the Commissioner of Education.
12. Devise a sociodrama to explain to a visiting teacher from England the characteristic features of public-school administration in the United States.

CHAPTER VII

Financing Education

DURING T. V. SMITH'S term as state representative in Illinois an editor of a small-town newspaper opposed a bill to raise teachers' salaries. Mr. Smith relates the story in this fashion:

I went to him one day and I said: "Jim, this is a very anomalous situation. You are one of the most intelligent men I have ever known; and here you are against this bill. I am really afraid you do not know what education is all about." He said: "That is really going too far, that I don't know what education is about. I know all it is about." I said: "What, for instance?" Confronted with the specific question, he said: "Education is—it is to keep the kids out of their parents' hair a sufficient number of hours every day so that the parents can lead their own lives." Then he said: "I think it is worth all its costs. Maybe after all I will vote for the bill. . . ."¹

To more than one harassed parent the baby-sitting value of education, a value that Mr. Smith dubs "middlesized," might justify maintenance of public schools. However, there are other more significant reasons for our huge outlay for schools. Social, cultural, aesthetic, and economic values all accrue from education. To Americans who wish to view the problem in a material way, a convincing case can be made for education as an investment in people. In the dark days of the depression in the 1930's Bruce Barton said: "In times like these, invest in boys and girls. Men talk about buying stocks at the bottom. When you invest in a boy or girl, you are always buying at the bottom. You are sure that the youngster is going up and there is no telling how far. I invite every man and woman in America to take a flyer in Children Preferred. I predict a great future for this security. It has an investment merit combined with the most exciting speculative possibilities. You are sure

¹ T. V. Smith, "Middle-Sized Values for Higher Education," *Current Issues in Higher Education*, 1952, National Education Association, 1952, p. 54.

to get a man or woman. You may get a great man or great woman."

Expenditures for education have proved economically productive, as the following makes clear:

The schools are not economic parasites, draining off national income into some nonproductive enterprise. On the contrary, education (a) provides the intelligence and skill essential to modern industry; (b) contributes to health and safety; (c) results in better conservation of natural resources; (d) leads to personal thrift and the development of capital resources; (e) is the basis of efficiency in business management; (f) increases the volume and lifts the level of consumer demands; (g) improves the earning power and spending power of the people; and (h) thru the purchase of buildings, equipment, materials, and thru the salaries of its employees, turns its expenditures quite directly back into the economic life-stream of the nation.²

That a positive relationship exists between economic status and educational level was confirmed some years ago in a study made for the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. A comparison of five poor and five rich countries throughout the world showed that with high levels of education high standards of living were possible even though natural resources were scant. Where low standards of education prevailed, standards of living were low even though natural resources were abundant. Denmark, with poor soil, no natural power sources, and no mineral resources, but with a high level of education, had a favorable economic status and a high standard of living. But Colombia, with millions of acres of rich land, enormous reserves of oil and timber, and a vast range of mineral resources, had a low educational level and low per capita wealth. A country overflowing with natural resources but with a school system unable to teach the skills to use them had one of the lowest standards of living in the world.

Similar studies in the United States made by the Chamber of Commerce have shown a comparable situation. Expenditures for schools in the various states in 1910, 1920, and 1930, when the present generation of adults was in school, were compared with such indexes of economic advance as retail sales, telephones in use, and national mag-

² American Association of School Administrators, *The Expanding Role of Education*, Twenty-Sixth Yearbook, 1948, pp. 281-282.

azine circulation. The findings showed a direct relation between education and dollar sales. For example, average school expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance in Nevada in 1910, 1920, 1930 were \$102; in Mississippi, \$21. Retail sales in Nevada in 1940 were \$564 per capita; in Mississippi, \$129. Magazine circulation per thousand population in Nevada was 509; in Mississippi, 104. Telephones per thousand population in Nevada were 175; in Mississippi, 36.

For all lands and all ages we reiterate Walter Hines Page's credo uttered at Athens, Georgia, in 1901, "I believe that by the right training of men we add to the wealth of the world. All wealth is the creation of man, and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and, the more men we train, the more wealth everyone may create."

To provide a dynamic system of education to help boys and girls become economically productive citizens requires money—money in ever increasing amounts. With the exception of a few years, the trend in school costs has been almost continuously upward. From \$63,000,000 in 1870 expenditures for education rose to approximately \$6 billion in 1952-1953. From 1945-1946 to 1952-1953 they practically doubled.

CAUSES OF INCREASED SCHOOL COSTS

Rising school costs may be ascribed to three causes: decrease in purchasing power of the dollar, increase in attendance, and improved educational standards and services.

One reason for higher school costs is the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar. The \$6 billion expended for schools in 1952-1953 bought only about \$3 billion in goods and services in terms of the purchasing power of the 1939 dollar. The \$228.40 estimated to be the national average expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in 1952-1953 had a purchasing power of about \$120 in prewar dollars. Thus while the per-pupil expenditure in current dollars has advanced 160 percent since 1939-1940, the purchasing power of that expenditure has advanced only 36 percent.

A vivid example of the effect of inflation on school costs is shown in Figure 7.³ In the Illinois State Teachers Colleges the actual cost per student in 1942-1943 was \$524; in 1951-1952 it was \$902. Yet in

³ *Education Today*, published by the Illinois State Teachers Colleges, December, 1952, p. 6.

terms of the purchasing power of the 1926 dollar the actual cost per capita in 1942-1943 was \$530 and in 1951-1952, \$500. In other words, the per capita cost in 1951-1952 was \$30 lower than that of 1942-1943, notwithstanding an increase in actual dollars.

A second reason for growing costs is the increase in school attend-

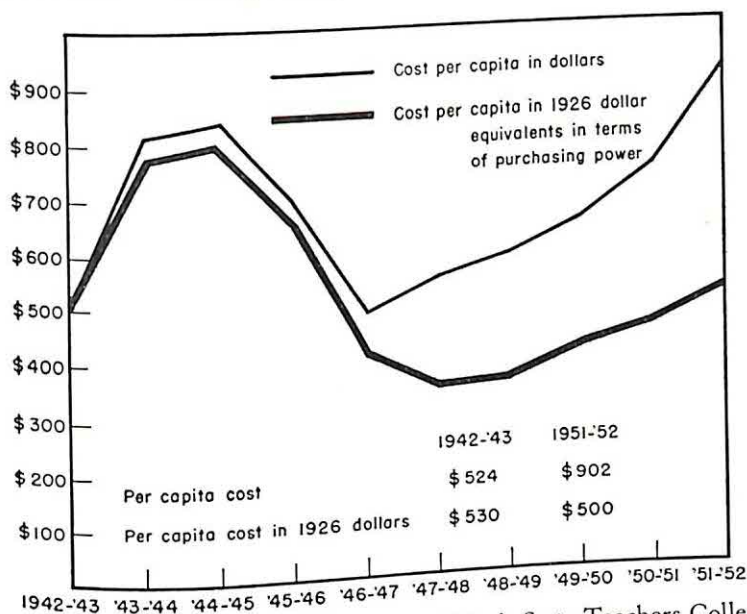


FIGURE 7. Actual Cost per Student in Illinois State Teachers Colleges. Figures for this graph were provided by Dr. Richard G. Browne, executive officer of the Teachers College Board. Note that the 1942-43 dollar was roughly worth the same in purchasing power as the 1926 dollar which is used as the index, but that the actual per capita cost in 1951-52 was slightly below that of a decade ago, despite the much higher dollar figure.

ance. Figure 8⁴ shows the enrollment trends in public and nonpublic elementary and secondary schools, 1890 through 1950.

The mounting birth rate has beset us with unexpected problems. Figure 9⁵ shows the fertility ratio from 1850 to 1950, and Figure 10⁶ the trend of total population from 1850 to 1950.

⁴ National Education Association, Research Division, *Schools and the 1950 Census*, Research Bulletin, December, 1951, p. 166.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

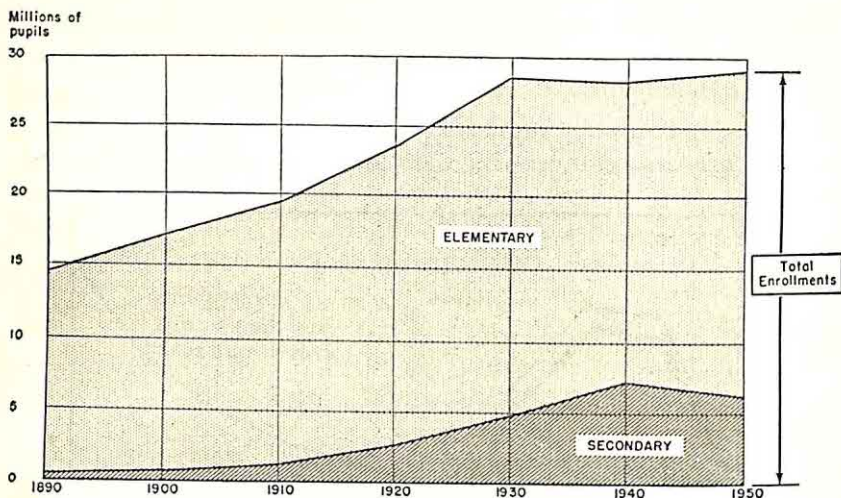


FIGURE 8. Enrollment Trends in Public and Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools, Census Years 1890 Through 1950. (Research Division, National Education Association.)

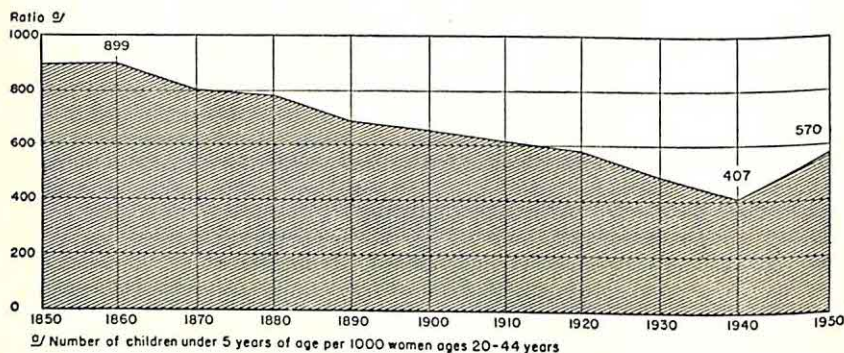


FIGURE 9. Fertility Ratio, 1850 to 1950. (Research Division, National Education Association.)

Not only has enrollment gone up by leaps and bounds, but with longer school terms and better law enforcement the number of days that children are in attendance has increased. In 1949-1950 schools were in session an average of 177.9 days.

Then, too, as will be seen from Figure 8 and Table 10, the number of children attending the relatively expensive higher grades has reached astonishing proportions. At the turn of the century only

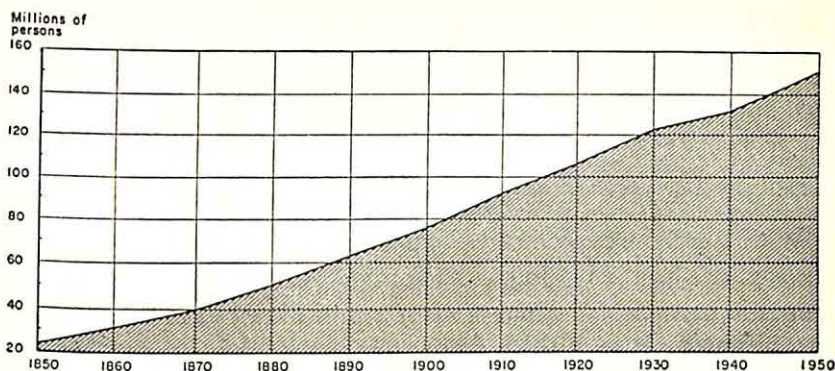


FIGURE 10. Trend of Total Population, 1850 to 1950. (Research Division, National Education Association.)

63 percent of the nation's children finished the eighth grade. In 1952 the comparable figure was 88 percent. The growth of high schools has been relatively more rapid than the growth of elementary schools. From less than 5 percent of the total enrollment at the turn

TABLE 10. Total High-School Enrollment as Percentage of Enrollment in All Schools, Public and Nonpublic, 1890-1950⁷

Year	Percent of Total Enrollment in the High Schools
1890	2.5%
1900	4.1
1910	5.7
1920	10.7
1930	16.8
1940	25.2
1950	21.5

of the century, high school enrollment grew until it comprised more than one-fifth of the total enrollment in 1950.

A third reason for increasing costs is higher educational standards and improvements in school services. Not without their price are our modern artistically constructed and well-equipped buildings located on spacious sites; better-prepared teachers; methods of teaching that call for laboratories, shops, audio-visual aids, and libraries;

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

expansion of curriculum at both elementary and secondary levels; and added services such as guidance departments, hot-lunch programs, health departments, work-experience programs, summer sessions and camps, and special education for atypical children.

CAN WE AFFORD THE COST OF EDUCATION?

With spiraling expenditures comes the question, Can we afford the cost of education? In order to answer it the Committee on Tax Education and School Finance in 1952 studied trends in income and expenditures. It found that from 1939 to 1953 the national income increased more than fourfold—from nearly \$73 million to more than \$300 billion—whereas personal income increased a little more than three and a half times.

At the same time federal, state, and local expenditures were going up. In 1939 the federal budget was \$9.2 billion; the estimate for the fiscal year ending in 1953 was \$85.4 billion. In other words, in 1939 the federal budget took 12.7 percent of the national income and 28.4 percent in 1953.

Federal taxes, not including social security deductions, took \$7 of each \$100 of the national income in 1939, and \$24 in 1953.

State and local expenditures for all purposes, including education, soared from \$9.3 billion in 1939 to \$25.2 billion in the fiscal year 1953. Although the total amount of these expenditures nearly tripled in fourteen years, as a percentage of the national income they declined.

But governmental expenditures make up only one part of the total national economic picture. Consumer expenditures, which are disposable personal income less savings, constitute another part. Disposable income was \$237 billion for 1953, with the rate of savings estimated at 7.5 percent of this income. Between 1950 and 1953 taxes increased \$15 billion but disposable income, after taxes, increased \$46 billion.

Apparently there is ample margin for the expanding costs of education. As Kaulfers points out, we are not

scraping the bottom of the financial barrel. The amount of money spent each year on gambling alone is over twenty thousand million dollars—

or four times the amount of money spent on all forms of education combined. To date the boom has been for gamblers and the bust has been for schools. As Mark Hanna has indicated, even in the highest tax years of the war the American people spent up to six thousand million dollars "just to sit in cocktail bars and get numb" and another eight thousand million dollars "just to watch the rear end of a horse and their money disappear around the race track." Even if the common good should ever require the nation to reduce its chewing-gum bill from a yearly average of more than a dollar per man, woman, and child to a sacrificial low of fifty cents, the strain on the pocketbook would only relieve the strain on the jaw. Who, therefore, can honestly say that we cannot afford to do all an adequate program of education requires?⁸

However, the fact that we can afford to finance schools generously does not necessarily mean that we will. "The psychological point of resistance to taxation is reached long before we actually reach any danger point in terms of the welfare of the American people."⁹ The element of choice is involved in our spending. Our folly of niggardly support will continue until we choose to give education top priority.

If people understood clearly how much they receive for the education dollar they would be unlikely to regard schools as tax eaters. At a cost of little more than one dollar per day per child, the education dollar pays for such diverse essentials as instruction, custodians' services, maintenance and operation of plants, supplies, equipment, textbooks, health supervision, and sometimes bus transportation. The lion's share of the dollar, approximately two-thirds, goes for instruction.

Table II, taken from the auditors' 1952 report for one school district in Elgin, Illinois, shows where the school dollar goes in a typical city.¹⁰ Salaries make up the largest single item, 83.51 percent of the budget. Slightly more than 7 percent goes for supplies, and over 9 percent for other expenditures. Orrin G. Thompson,

⁸ Walter Vincent Kaulfers, "Our Schools' Vanishing Margin for Disaster," *Progressive Education*, February, 1952, p. 131.

⁹ National Education Association, Committee on Tax Education and School Finance, *The Economic Outlook for Public Education*, June, 1952, p. 4.

¹⁰ Orrin G. Thompson, "What Does Your Educational Dollar Buy?" *Illinois Education*, November, 1952, p. 89.

TABLE 11. Expenditures, Union School District No. 1
Elgin, Illinois
Year Ended June 30, 1952

	Amount	Per-
Salaries:		
Teachers, principals, and supervisors	\$1,223,540.69	
Superintendent of schools and board secretary	17,900.00	
Clerks and office workers	53,624.53	
Nurses	14,914.32	
Janitors, etc.	119,936.86	
Bus drivers	8,216.91	
College and adult classes	19,565.31	
	<u>\$1,457,698.62</u>	
Supplies, etc.:		
Board of education office	\$ 5,246.66	
Classroom	105,887.68	
Janitorial	4,491.80	
Health	2,219.77	
Miscellaneous	6,880.68	
	<u>\$ 124,726.59</u>	
Other expenditures:		
Fuel and utility service	\$ 68,540.70	
New apparatus and equipment	28,848.01	
Interest on warrants	1,186.96	
Provision for contingencies	8,998.15	
Repairs to furniture and equipment	29,575.36	
Legal and auditing services	4,674.80	
Insurance	4,214.31	
Bus transportation	6,417.85	
College and adult classes	10,525.34	
	<u>\$ 162,981.48</u>	
Total	<u>\$1,745,406.69</u>	

Superintendent of Schools in Elgin, reminds us that "the ages are representative public-school expenditures and are in substantial agreement with comparable statistics compiled by the United States Office of Education."

WHAT IS THE SOURCE OF THE EDUCATION DOLLAR

Thorny problems in connection with school finance arise in ways in which school revenues are obtained. They come from three levels of government—local, state, and national. The per-

all public-school revenue receipts derived from these levels during 1939-1940 and 1949-1950 follow:¹¹

	1939-1940	1949-1950
Federal	2%	3%
State	30	41
Local	68	56
Total	100%	100%

LOCAL DISTRICTS

Although the state imposes upon local units the obligation to provide schools, it usually furnishes them with slight financial assistance. In 1949-1950 half of all public-school revenue came from county and local units. As will be noted from Table 12, 94 percent

TABLE 12. Percentage Contributed to Total Tax Revenues for Schools by Each Type of Tax, 1949-1950

Tax Classification	Federal	State	Local	Total
Property	...	3%	94%	55%
General sales and use	...	30	...	12
Income	77%	23	...	12
Selective sales and gross receipts	16	27	...	11
License and privilege	...	7	...	3
Severance	...	6	...	2
Inheritance and estate	2	3	...	1
Other	5	1	6	4
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

of the revenue was obtained from the property tax.¹² When we were an agricultural people a general property tax was a natural source of taxation. Real property is tangible, easily assessed, and a constant source of income. But now that industry and manufacturing have changed our mode of life, real property represents only a small portion of our wealth. Additional revenues must come from intangible sources of wealth where the real wealth is.

Glaring inequalities result from property taxes levied on small local units. One district may have manufacturing plants, railroads, coal, iron, copper, and mineral lands, while another has no prom-

¹¹ National Education Association, Research Division, *Public School Revenues, 1949-50*, Research Bulletin, December, 1952, p. 137.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 137.

TABLE 13. School Revenues from Federal, State, and Local Sources, 1949-1950¹³

State	Federal			State			Counties and Local			Total from all Federal, State, County, and Local Governments Exclusive of Teacher Retirement Contributions		
	Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent		Amount	Percent	
Continental United States	\$130,293,622	2.6%		\$2,031,202,017	41.2%		\$2,769,331,416	56.2%		\$4,930,827,055	100.0%	
Alabama	3,767,420	5.2		51,665,653	71.8		16,492,775	23.0		71,925,848	100.0	
Arizona	1,007,636	3.1		11,468,902	35.1		20,210,412	61.8		32,686,950	100.0	
Arkansas	2,766,270	6.5		25,925,000	60.6		14,075,000	32.9		42,766,270	100.0	
California	4,503,453	1.2		199,213,393	52.2		177,800,000	46.6		381,516,846	100.0	
Colorado	744,405	1.6		10,396,673	21.8		36,500,000	76.6		47,641,078	100.0	
Connecticut	868,583	1.4		13,393,813	22.0		46,500,313	76.5		60,762,709	100.0	
Delaware	263,248	2.2		10,716,462	89.5		1,000,000	8.3		11,979,710	100.0	
Florida	4,404,758	4.6		48,837,271	50.9		42,638,752	44.5		95,880,781	100.0	
Georgia	12,812,712	15.2		50,127,948	59.7		21,087,777	25.1		84,028,437	100.0	
Idaho	513,246	2.5		5,128,623	25.0		14,905,916	72.5		20,547,785	100.0	
Illinois	4,149,206	1.3		54,262,192	17.6		250,000,000	81.1		308,411,398	100.0	
Indiana	2,618,600	1.8		53,947,851	37.7		86,538,000	60.5		143,124,451	100.0	
Iowa	1,942,597	1.9		18,017,288	17.6		82,442,714	80.5		102,402,599	100.0	
Kansas	1,326,671	1.8		13,666,286	18.3		59,749,066	79.9		74,742,023	100.0	
Kentucky	6,988,404	10.6		22,878,272	34.7		36,000,000	54.7		65,866,676	100.0	
Louisiana	3,381,096	3.5		68,237,783	70.3		25,500,000	26.2		97,118,879	100.0	
Maine	575,300	2.4		5,548,796	22.7		18,316,600	74.9		24,440,696	100.0	
Maryland	1,079,200	1.6		25,454,331	36.9		42,533,452	61.5		68,886,983	100.0	
Massachusetts	1,871,989	1.3		22,560,457	15.9		117,369,132	82.8		141,801,578	100.0	
Michigan	3,214,525	1.4		13,136,747	55.9		100,500,000	42.7		235,081,999	100.0	

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Minnesota	1,991,922	1.9	48,660,404	46.5	54,106,247	51.6	104,758,573	100.0
Mississippi	3,138,613	8.2	19,238,643	50.0	16,111,979	41.8	38,489,235	100.0
Missouri	2,860,252	2.7	39,923,623	37.8	62,800,000	59.5	105,583,875	100.0
Montana	1,521,769	5.9	7,325,769	28.5	16,900,000	65.6	25,747,338	100.0
Nebraska	747,794	1.9	2,077,636 ^a	5.3 ^a	36,360,908	92.8	39,186,338	100.0
Nevada	217,089	3.3	2,481,710	37.3	3,945,141	59.4	6,643,940	100.0
New Hampshire	582,602	3.9	854,118 ^b	5.7	13,626,384	90.4	15,063,104	100.0
New Jersey	2,039,353	1.2	26,152,629	15.3	142,752,669	83.5	170,964,651	100.0
New Mexico	615,828	2.4	21,924,740	83.8	3,627,000	13.8	26,167,568	100.0
New York	6,424,800	1.2	244,850,000 ^c	46.3	278,000,000	52.5	529,274,800	100.0
North Carolina	4,750,392	3.8	96,066,626	77.0	24,000,000	19.2	124,817,018	100.0
North Dakota	466,509	1.9	6,252,850	25.8	17,500,000	72.3	24,219,359	100.0
Ohio	4,335,676	1.7	94,780,000	36.2	162,420,000	62.1	261,535,676	100.0
Oklahoma	2,417,153	3.3	30,567,875	41.8	40,128,057	54.9	73,113,085	100.0
Oregon	1,005,114	1.3	21,670,436	28.6	53,042,765	70.1	75,718,315	100.0
Pennsylvania	4,149,687	1.3	108,522,636	34.9	198,838,846	63.8	311,511,169	100.0
Rhode Island	430,465	2.1	3,137,856	15.3	17,000,000	82.7	20,568,321	100.0
South Carolina	7,280,527	13.4	30,733,415	56.5	16,400,000	30.1	54,413,942	100.0
South Dakota	507,218	2.3	2,728,452	12.6	18,500,000	85.1	21,735,670	100.0
Tennessee	9,187,762	10.8	48,707,932	57.5	26,822,000	31.7	84,717,694	100.0
Texas	6,148,790	2.0	146,929,908	48.4	150,560,000	49.6	303,638,698	100.0
Utah	681,094	2.2	15,458,022	49.5	15,075,000	48.3	31,214,116	100.0
Vermont	390,490	3.8	2,814,600	27.2	7,130,000	69.0	10,335,090	100.0
Virginia	2,734,974	3.4	32,642,021	40.1	46,040,182	56.5	81,417,177	100.0
Washington	1,389,973	1.4	66,326,855	67.9	30,000,000	30.7	97,716,828	100.0
West Virginia	3,284,276	5.2	37,863,547	60.0	21,978,675	34.8	63,086,498	100.0
Wisconsin	1,851,752	1.8	23,111,846	22.5	77,848,154	75.7	102,811,752	100.0
Wyoming	322,429	2.2	6,583,400	44.6	7,857,500	53.2	14,763,329	100.0

Sources: Figures on state and local school revenues are from Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education, *State and Local Public School Finance Programs 1940-50*. Figures for some states have been supplemented and adjusted by more recent information obtained from the individual states and advance figures from the Office of Education. Figures on school revenues from federal sources are estimated on the basis of advance figures from the U.S. Office of Education for 23 states and partial figures from the same source for the other 25 states.

^a Includes \$1,100,056 income from state permanent school fund considered by Nebraska school authorities to be nonstate school revenues on the basis of a decision of the state supreme court [State ex. Central Nebraska Public Power and Irrigation District, 143 Nebr. 153; 8 N.W. (2d) 841 (April, 1943)].

^b Omits \$114,748 appropriated for state trade schools.

^c Omits \$3,000,000 appropriated for municipal college, New York City.

ising sources of revenue. In Illinois some districts are more than eighty times as able as others to support schools. Contrast Stickney in Cook County, Illinois, which has an assessed valuation per pupil of \$288,682, with three towns in Massac County in southern Illinois—Doris Ville with an assessed valuation per pupil of \$3539, Johnson City with \$4945, and Brookport with \$3130.

STATES

In 1949-1950 the states contributed 41 percent of the funds to support schools. Over a ten-year period the trend has been toward increased state support. However, individual states vary in the proportion of school revenue thus obtained. In 1949-1950 in Nebraska only 5.3 percent of all school revenues were derived from state sources, whereas in Delaware the figure was 89.5 percent. (See Table 13.)

As a source of public-school revenue at the state level, the property tax has been waning for a long time. As will be seen from Table 12, only about 3 percent of the revenue from states came from such a tax.¹⁴ The major share was secured from taxes on general sales, individual income, and selective sales and gross receipts.

Like the local districts, the states vary radically in their ability to support education. Differences among states which reach the ratio of 4 to 1 stem from disparities in educational responsibilities and wealth.

The amount of wealth states have with which to maintain schools varies tremendously. Table 14 gives the ten-year average of per capita income in all states, 1940 through 1949. The geographical location of these states is shown in Figure 11.¹⁵ Nevada ranked highest with \$1461, and Mississippi lowest with \$517.

When income is considered in direct relation to school-age population only, similar disparities exist. Some states have disproportionately large numbers of children of school age and less than their share of the nation's income. Others have fewer children in proportion to adults but abundant economic resources. In 1948 the United States as a whole had 206 children 5-17 years old per 1000

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁵ National Education Association Research Division, *Federal Aid for Education in All the States*, April, 1951, p. 5 (planographed).

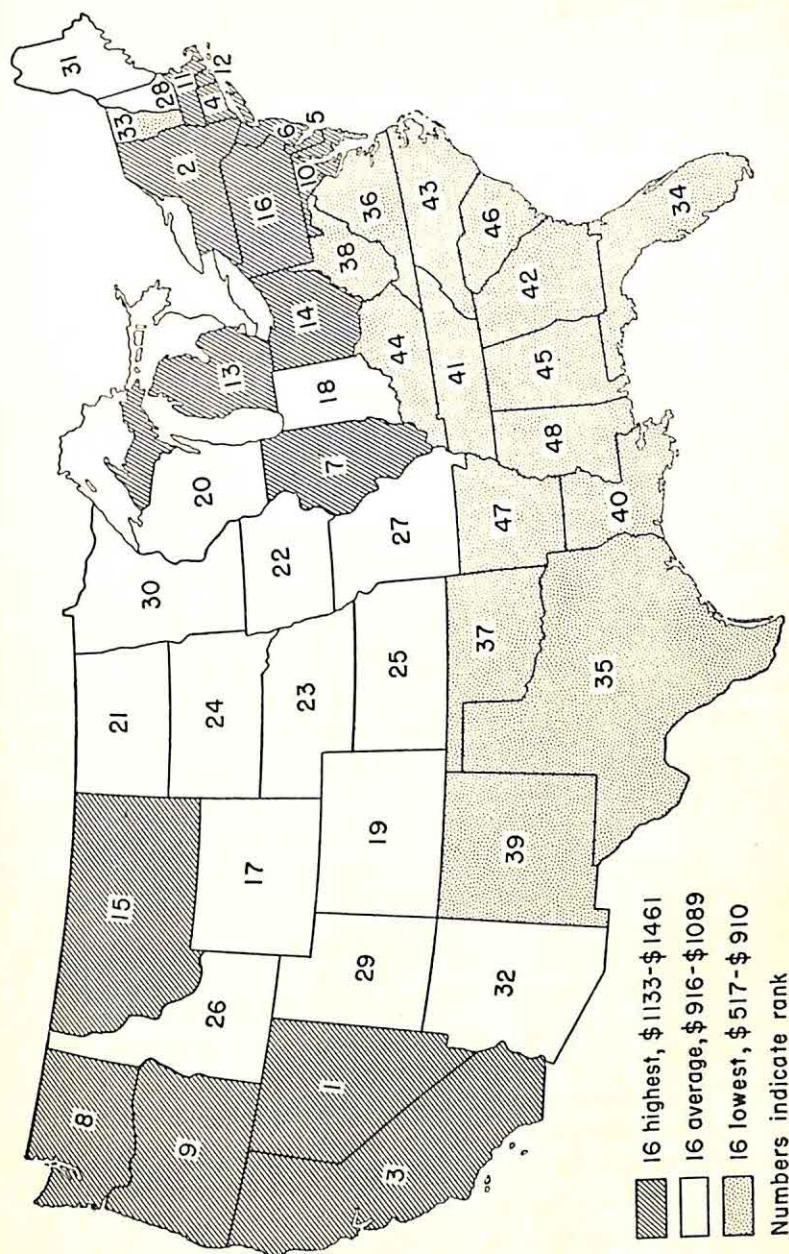


FIGURE 11. Ten-Year Average of per Capita Income, 1940 Through 1949. (From *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1950.)

total population. South Carolina, with 280 per 1000 total population, had the largest number of children, whereas Nevada, at the opposite extreme, had only 171. Income payments in Nevada, with its few children, amounted to \$8455 per school-age child, and in South Carolina, with its many children, to only \$3034. Similarly,

TABLE 14. Ten-Year Average of Per Capita Income in All the States, 1940 Through 1949¹⁶
(U.S. Average = \$1078)

High-Income States	Average Per Capita Income 1940-1949	States of Average Ability	Average Per Capita Income 1940-1949	Low-Income States	Average Per Capita Income 1940-1949
Nevada	\$1461	Wyoming	\$1089	Vermont	\$910
New York	1440	Indiana	1074	Florida	907
California	1426	Colorado	1059	Texas	884
Connecticut	1407	Wisconsin	1058	Virginia	869
Delaware	1352	North Dakota	1023	Oklahoma	787
New Jersey	1320	Iowa	1019	West Virginia	779
Illinois	1295	Nebraska	1018	New Mexico	748
Washington	1258	South Dakota	1001	Louisiana	737
Oregon	1231	Kansas	989	Tennessee	708
Maryland	1222	Idaho	986	Georgia	692
Massachusetts	1216	Missouri	985	North Carolina	670
Rhode Island	1213	New Hampshire	984	Kentucky	663
Michigan	1200	Utah	982	Alabama	634
Ohio	1197	Minnesota	970	South Carolina	622
Montana	1170	Maine	934	Arkansas	607
Pennsylvania	1133	Arizona	916	Mississippi	517

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1950.

Mississippi had 276 children per 1000 total population and New York had only 174. In New York, with its small number of children, income payments amounted to \$10,579 per school-age child in 1948, an amount four times as large as Mississippi's \$2622. In other words, some states with low relative ability to support education were responsible for educating nearly twice as many children as other states with more than average financial ability.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The states with the largest number of children in proportion to adults are in rural areas, particularly the South, and their average financial ability to support schools is low. That this large proportion may be expected to continue in low-income states is indicated by Figure 12,¹⁷ which gives the birth rate in 1948 for high-income and low-income states. In 1948 the birth rate for the nation as a whole was 24.2 per 1000 inhabitants. Among the high-income states, only Montana had a birth rate that was significantly higher than the national average. In all but two of the low-income states the birth rate was higher than the national average.

No blame attaches to the poorer states for their meager school support. They make a greater effort to pay taxes than wealthy states, but they can raise less money. The effort of the states to support education is indicated by the percentage of income spent for this purpose. In 1947-1948 for the United States as a whole the figure was 2.11 percent, with a range from 1.68 percent in Delaware to 3.88 in New Mexico. For New York the figure was 1.85 and for Mississippi 2.31. Yet in spite of this effort Mississippi could raise enough money for only \$60 average current expenditure per pupil, whereas in New York it was \$256. Even if Mississippi adopted a model tax system and spent all the resulting tax revenues for education, the amount would still fall short of what it takes to finance an average public-school program.

By 1952-1953 current expenditures in the various states had risen, but, as Table 15 reveals, inequalities among the states persisted. Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance ranged from \$97 in Mississippi to \$335 in New York.

Differences in the ability of states to support education show up in differences in educational opportunity. In education, as in other things, we are likely to get what we pay for. Paul R. Mort of Teachers College, Columbia University, points out that, although not the only factor, "money is the best single index on the quality of education."

In tangible factors that lend themselves readily to quantitative measurements, the differences resulting from amount of expenditures are discernible in such items as value of school property, teachers' salaries, preparation of teachers, size of classes, percentage of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

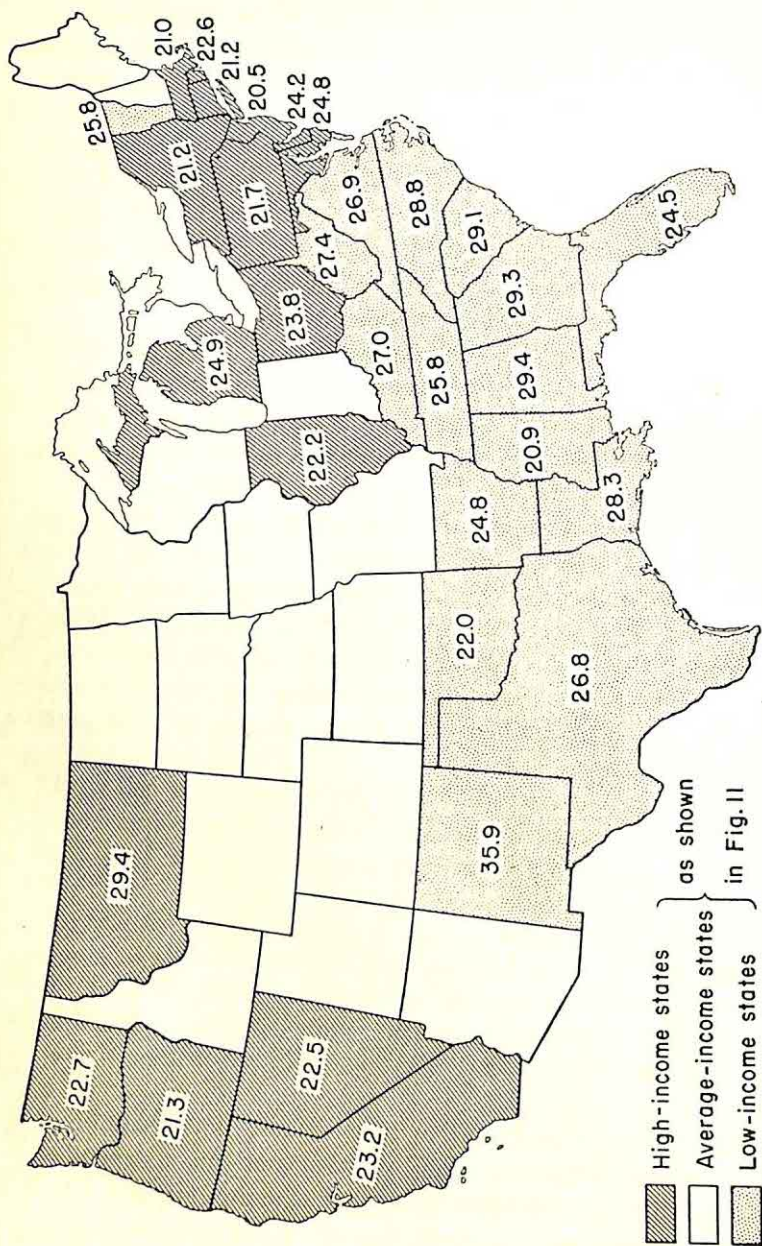


FIGURE 12. Birth Rate per 1000 Estimated Mid-Year Population, 1948, in High-Income and Low-Income States; Rate for the U.S., 24.2. (From Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1948.*)

TABLE 15. Estimated Current Expenditures,
1951-1952 and 1952-1953¹⁸

State	Current Expenditure ^a (State and Local)		Expenditure per Pupil (ADA)		Percent of Cur- rent Revenues from State	
	1951-1952	1952-1953	1951- 1952	1952- 1953	1951- 1952	1952- 1953
Alabama	\$ 67,000,000 ^b	\$ 70,492,300 ^b	\$110.00	\$117.00 ^b	83.0%	83.0%
Arizona	33,875,900	35,500,000	259.53	272.00	36.6	36.0
Arkansas	38,300,000 ^b	42,044,200 ^b	105.00	110.00 ^b	65.0	66.0 ^b
California	485,000,000	549,000,000	269.00	284.00	47.0	48.0
Colorado	53,000,000	57,000,000	260.00	285.00	20.0	24.0
Connecticut	71,650,000	78,170,000	240.00	251.00	17.6	17.3
Delaware	13,704,425	14,200,000	314.58	315.00	91.7	92.0
District of Columbia	23,929,653	24,336,200	275.00	274.00	...	...
Florida	89,337,941	97,000,000	194.40	198.00	56.0	55.0
Georgia	93,000,000	109,000,000	142.41	162.00 ^b	70.0	72.0 ^b
Idaho	22,500,000	23,515,600 ^b	193.00	200.00 ^b	25.0	30.0 ^b
Illinois	299,096,416	317,100,000	247.00	278.00	23.0	25.0
Indiana	150,500,000 ^b	156,022,500 ^b	247.00 ^b	250.00 ^b	41.0	42.0 ^b
Iowa	105,000,000	107,871,000	243.00	246.00	14.5	25.0
Kansas	70,000,000	75,308,000	245.00	250.00	27.0	26.0
Kentucky	67,000,000	76,552,500	140.00	155.00	45.5	46.0
Louisiana	94,013,005	99,000,000	218.00	235.00	80.0	76.0
Maine	24,622,536	25,607,437	189.00	200.00	24.0	25.0
Maryland	89,063,093	94,334,600 ^b	240.75	275.00 ^b	34.2	35.0 ^b
Massachusetts	143,500,000	150,000,000	256.00	260.00 ^b	15.0	15.5 ^b
Michigan	260,000,000	280,100,000 ^b	233.00	255.00 ^b	60.0	62.0
Minnesota	127,505,500	140,275,000	278.00	294.00	44.0	46.0
Mississippi	40,880,488	47,789,000 ^b	88.27	97.00 ^b	49.9	54.6
Missouri	116,423,379	124,759,000	204.00	217.00	42.0	43.0
Montana	28,531,309	29,528,000	273.00	284.00	30.3	39.0
Nebraska	44,200,000	45,538,000 ^b	215.00	217.00 ^b	0.7	1.0 ^b
Nevada	6,400,000	7,866,000	250.00	254.00	35.5	36.0
New Hampshire	15,100,000	15,574,000 ^b	225.00	230.00 ^b	3.9	3.8
New Jersey	196,600,000	213,192,000 ^b	312.00	329.00 ^b	17.8 ^b	18.0 ^b
New Mexico	28,330,000	30,068,400 ^b	225.00	230.00 ^b	85.0	86.0 ^b
New York	580,000,000	610,000,000	325.00	335.00	45.0	45.0
North Carolina	121,090,987	130,482,002	146.00	154.00	83.8	83.8
North Dakota	23,468,295	24,589,400 ^b	224.49	233.00 ^b	21.7	22.0 ^b
Ohio	240,000,000	261,296,100 ^b	200.00	207.00 ^b	43.3	44.0 ^b
Oklahoma	87,850,534	90,000,000	206.00	215.00	52.0	50.0
Oregon	73,965,711	80,793,000 ^b	280.00 ^b	294.00 ^b	40.0	41.0 ^b
Pennsylvania	332,469,000	349,873,000	201.01	204.37	42.0	42.5
Rhode Island	22,100,000	23,123,000 ^b	252.00	254.00 ^b	16.5	17.0 ^b
South Carolina	59,107,584	61,000,000	128.00	132.00	56.0	58.0
South Dakota	26,857,969	27,500,000 ^b	221.14	225.82	11.1	11.0
Tennessee	79,100,000	80,200,000	133.00	135.00	56.9	57.4
Texas	253,033,439	260,000,000	203.61	205.82	63.5	63.5
Utah	28,300,000	29,000,000	185.40	190.00	58.0	60.0
Vermont	12,405,325	12,500,000 ^b	192.64	195.00 ^b	21.5	22.0 ^b
Virginia	85,000,000	92,983,800 ^b	155.61	158.00 ^b	36.0	38.0 ^b
Washington	103,831,089	110,886,900 ^b	256.41	260.00	60.0	61.0 ^b
West Virginia	68,162,876	71,517,600 ^b	171.87	180.00 ^b	68.0	67.0
Wisconsin	115,334,714	126,224,800	241.00	260.00	20.0	21.0
Wyoming	15,970,217	16,440,300	314.00	320.00	47.5	48.0
Total	\$5,226,162,315	\$5,596,053,639	\$217.66	\$228.40	43.6%	44.6%

^a Current expense means current expense less capital outlay and interest from local and state funds (omit federal funds).

^b NEA Research Division estimate.

¹⁸ National Education Association, Research Division, *Advance Estimates of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools for the School Year 1952-53*, November, 1952, P. 14 (planographed).

children enrolled in school, and holding power of the school. In 1947-1948 the value of school property per pupil in average daily attendance was nearly seven times as great in New York as in Alabama. Low salaries, poor preparation, and large classes go hand in hand. In 1947-1948 the average salaries for teachers were three times higher in California than in Mississippi. Only 23 percent of California's teachers had less than four years of college, whereas in Mississippi this was true of 59.2 percent. In 1947-1948 the average number of pupils per teacher in Mississippi was 33.1, as compared with 26.4 for the United States as a whole.

That the distribution of classroom teachers' salaries continues to follow state income and current state expenditures for schools can be seen from comparing Tables 15 and 16. Classroom teachers' average salary for the entire nation in 1952-1953 was \$3405. New York ranked at the top with \$4625, and Mississippi at the bottom with \$1774.

The percentage of children enrolled in school is another item related to the wealth of states. The poorer states have the lowest percentages enrolled. In 1947-1948 ten of the twelve lowest states were in the rural South. Five of these states spent \$104 or less per pupil in average daily attendance for current operation of the public schools. Arkansas, where about 20 percent of the school-age children were not in school, spent only \$87 per pupil; the national average was \$176 per pupil.

The holding power of the school is also related to the wealth of states. A high percentage of children in the poorer states do not complete their high-school education. In 1946 the estimated number of twelfth-grade pupils per 1000 who were enrolled as fifth-grade pupils in 1940 was 453 for the United States as a whole. The range in holding power varied from 204 seniors per 1000 former fifth-grade pupils in Mississippi to 731 per 1000 in Montana. Ten states among the twelve with the lowest survival rates were in the South in the group characterized by large numbers of school-age children, low per capita incomes, and low expenditures per pupil enrolled. This bears out an observation of the President's Commission: "The children who need the best schools because their parents and neighborhoods can provide relatively little . . . frequently get the worst."

Not only does a low level of expenditure result in quantitative

TABLE 16. Estimated Distribution of Classroom Teachers' Salaries,
1952-1953¹⁹

State	Classroom Teachers' Average Salary, 1952-1953	Percent of Teachers Paid			
		Below \$2500	\$2500- \$3499	\$3500- \$4499	\$4500 and Over
Alabama	\$2420 ^a	55.0% ^a	40.0% ^a	5.0% ^a	0.0% ^a
Arizona	3800	0.4	35.0	43.0	21.6
Arkansas	2035 ^a	70.0 ^a	27.0 ^a	3.0 ^a	0.0 ^a
California	4300	0.0	18.0	45.0	37.0
Colorado	3300	25.0	55.0	12.0	8.0
Connecticut	3806	2.0	36.2	45.0	16.8
Delaware	4125	2.0	28.0	50.0	20.0
Florida	3240	11.0	80.0 ^a	8.0	1.0 ^a
Georgia	2475 ^a	53.0 ^a	40.0 ^a	6.0 ^a	1.0 ^a
Idaho	2770 ^a	25.0 ^a	66.0 ^a	8.0 ^a	1.0 ^a
Illinois	3850	18.0	30.0	37.0	15.0
Indiana	3730 ^a	8.0 ^a	40.0 ^a	33.0 ^a	19.0 ^a
Iowa	3093	30.0 ^a	50.0 ^a	19.0 ^a	1.0 ^a
Kansas	3025	30.0	50.0	19.0	1.0
Kentucky	2260	65.0	25.0	9.0	1.0
Louisiana	3246 ^a	2.5	65.5	29.0	3.0
Maine	2451	60.0	30.0	10.0	0.0
Maryland	3960 ^a	2.0 ^a	39.0 ^a	50.0 ^a	9.0 ^a
Massachusetts	3820	2.0	33.0	59.0	6.0
Michigan	3900	10.0	35.0 ^a	35.0 ^a	20.0
Minnesota	3475	20.0	42.0	22.0	16.0
Mississippi	1774	85.0	13.0	1.9	0.1
Missouri	2930	30.0 ^a	48.0 ^a	18.0 ^a	4.0 ^a
Montana	3265	7.0	73.0	15.0	5.0
Nebraska	2475 ^a	50.0 ^a	40.0 ^a	8.0 ^a	2.0 ^a
Nevada	3500	2.0	47.0	47.0	4.0
New Hampshire	3040	20.0	58.0	21.0	1.0
New Jersey	3868	0.0 ^a	40.0	30.0	30.0
New Mexico	3465 ^a	1.0 ^a	45.0 ^a	48.0 ^a	6.0 ^a
New York	4625	0.0	24.0	31.0	45.0
North Carolina	2948	25.0	68.0	6.9	0.1
North Dakota	2425 ^a	55.0 ^a	35.0 ^a	10.0 ^a	0.0 ^a
Ohio	3600	5.0 ^a	53.0 ^a	29.0 ^a	13.0 ^a
Oklahoma	3000	20.0 ^a	55.0 ^a	24.0 ^a	1.0 ^a
Oregon	3725 ^a	0.0 ^a	40.0 ^a	51.0 ^a	9.0 ^a
Pennsylvania	3490	9.4	49.3	30.8	10.5
Rhode Island	3435	3.0	43.0	46.0	8.0
South Carolina	2440	70.0 ^a	28.0 ^a	2.0 ^a	0.0 ^a
South Dakota	2500 ^a	50.0 ^a	48.0 ^a	2.0	0.0
Tennessee	2465	52.0	43.0	4.0	1.0
Texas	3240	16.5	61.2	21.2	1.1
Utah	3300	0.0	76.0	24.0	0.0
Vermont	2625	52.0	33.0	12.0	3.0
Virginia	2670 ^a	40.0 ^a	55.0 ^a	4.5 ^a	0.5 ^a
Washington	3725	0.0	38.0	50.0	12.0
West Virginia	2925 ^a	24.0	56.0	20.0	0.0
Wisconsin	3418	18.3	43.0	24.7	14.0
Wyoming	3250	20.0	70.0	10.0	0.0
Average	\$3405	20.0% ^a	42.0% ^a	25.0% ^a	13.0% ^a

^a NEA Research Division estimate.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

differences, it also results in qualitative differences in education. Studies to ascertain qualitative differences are still in their infancy. They are complicated by the fact that money alone does not wholly determine the quality of schooling. Superior education may be had in a classroom financed at a poverty level but presided over by a master teacher, while inferior education may be provided in a magnificent setting dominated by an incompetent teacher.

However, measuring instruments are being developed to ferret out information about the effects of high-level expenditures. Among them is *The Growing Edge*, which throws light on four facets that seem to be observable in high-expenditure schools: "(1) the teaching of skills in a real or realistic fashion and the teaching of a wider range of skills, (2) the teaching of areas of knowledge realistically, (3) the discovery and development of special aptitudes of individuals through test and try-out, and (4) the development of gross behavior patterns, like citizenship, character, and thinking, which are assumed to be developmental characteristics."²⁰

In an investigation of Metropolitan School Study Council schools, Woollatt carried through an analysis of the foregoing factors in a group of high-expenditure schools. He found a direct relationship between these factors taken together and expenditure, and between each one individually and expenditure.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

In view of inequalities resulting from disparity in the ability of states to maintain schools, a question arises as to the proper role of the federal government in relation to school support. In 1949-1950 the federal government contributed only about 3 percent to public elementary and secondary schools. Yet, undeniably, some states and communities cannot from their own resources raise enough money to provide a suitable educational program for their children.

The federal government, by providing for a just sharing of the burden, can obtain adequate money for schools. It has already tapped the most lucrative sources of revenue, particularly the tax on personal income. For the nation to tax wealth where it exists and

²⁰ Paul R. Mort and Walter C. Reusser, *Public School Finance*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 2nd ed., 1951, p. 136.

to distribute funds where they are needed is in harmony with sound principles of taxation.

That the character of education in any segment of the United States affects the entire country becomes evident when we note the high mobility of our population. Thirteen percent of the people in South Carolina and 68 percent in Nevada were not born within

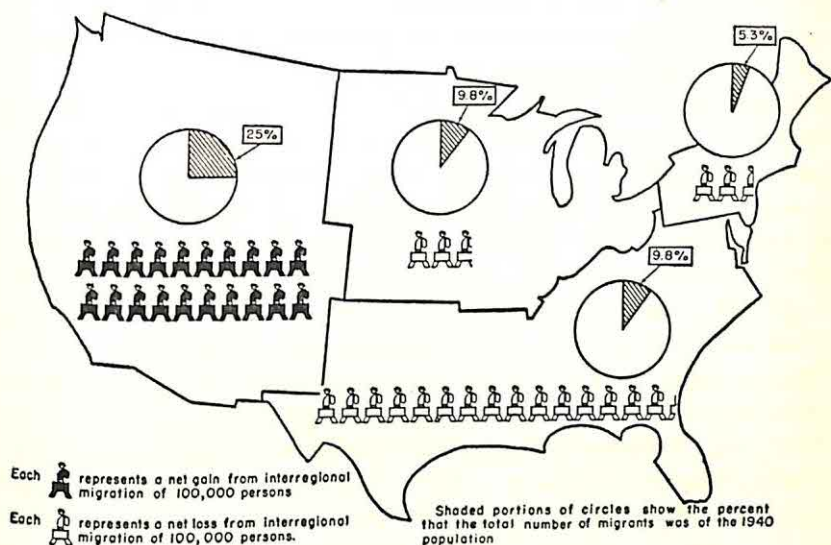


FIGURE 13. Interregional Migration, April, 1940, to April, 1947.

those states. Figure 13²¹ shows interregional migration between 1940 and 1947. In these years over 13 million people moved from one county to another within their respective states and over 12 million crossed state lines. With such a shifting population social ills stemming from substandard educational facilities are not confined to a particular locality but spread to all sections of the country.

Federal assistance to education is not an innovation. For more than a century and a half the federal government has aided education through land grants, monetary grants, subventions (money set aside by it for specific purposes subject to the acceptance of certain prescribed conditions by the recipients), and emergency legislation. Over 160 federal-aid-to-education laws have been enacted.

²¹ National Education Association, Research Division, *Schools and the 1950 Census*, p. 152.

Even before ratification of the Constitution, the federal government adopted the policy of giving financial support to education in the form of land grants. In the Ordinance of 1785 the sixteenth section of every township in the Northwest Territory, then a national possession, was set aside "for the maintenance of public schools within said townships." Two years later the Ordinance of 1787 emphasized that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

When Ohio was admitted to the Union the enabling act of 1802 set aside the sixteenth section of land in each township for the support of schools.

From 1802 until 1848 the policy of reserving the sixteenth section of each new township for school support continued. In 1848, when Oregon was organized as a territory, the thirty-sixth section, in addition to the sixteenth, was set aside as land reserved for school use. As other states were admitted they received grants for schools, sometimes as many as four sections in each township. Eventually more than 175,000,000 acres of land from the national domain, an area larger than Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia combined, were given to the states for education. Some of the land was sold at prices varying from \$1.25 an acre to thousands of dollars an acre. Much of the money was wasted through inefficient administration. However, the gifts helped at a time when financial assistance was needed. In 1940 one-third of the land granted was still owned by the states. Other federal grants to aid education included salt and swamp lands.

In these early grants Congress sought to lay the groundwork for a sound public-school system available to all the people. It placed no restriction on the states regarding management of the funds.

The Morrill Act of 1862 instituted a definite change in policy. Under the terms of the act, the money was earmarked for a specific purpose—namely, instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts—and was to be spent under certain conditions. Instead of grants in aid to general education, with no federal control over how the money was to be spent by the states, there began to be grants in aid of specified areas of education, with legal stipulations covering the use of the money by the states.

Another shift in policy came with the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, which allotted continued annual appropriations to the states for extension work in agriculture and home economics. None of the funds went to public schools. For the first time a federal act required each state to match federal funds. The same provision for matching funds was embodied in the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, which promoted vocational education in public schools and encouraged special education for teachers of vocational education. Exacting requirements as to how the states could use the funds marked another turn in federal policy.

During the depression of the 1930's and in World War II the principle of matching funds was virtually abandoned. Funds were allocated for specific purposes, often without an objective formula and without regard to the relative needs of the states. The Washington bureaus commonly by-passed state departments of education in administering relief programs and sometimes established their own schools which duplicated local schools. Legislation set forth conditions under which funds could be used. For example, federal funds to aid in providing normal terms for schools were available only on condition that the teachers be paid relief wages and not standard salaries. Similar tendencies were shown in the use of WPA funds for nursery-school and adult education, of funds under the Lanham Act, and in the NYA.

Alarmed by the growing federal control of education, Congress strove to have activities in education administered not by the United States Office of Education but by dozens of federal agencies. Of the more than \$3.5 billion expended for education in 1949, only 1 percent was under the jurisdiction of the Office of Education. The programs were concerned less with their general effect upon public education than with implementing activities of certain federal agencies.

The present confusion in the administration of federal aid demonstrates that the basic issues are still unresolved. The whole question of the desirability of federal aid touches off a heated debate. At least three distinct points of view persist. Some people oppose federal aid on the ground that it would inevitably spell federal control. They hold steadfastly to the belief that the agencies supplying

money would impose the conditions under which it could be spent. With their aversion to such domination, they would forgo assistance, no matter how critically needed. They admit that federal support may seem all right in theory, but they are wary of the loss of local freedom and fear the possibility of controlling the ideology of millions of school children.

Other people recognize a need for federal aid and concede that federal regulation would accompany it. However, they view some control as a judicious safeguard to protect the funds and insure their proper use. They argue that just as the one-time dire predictions by opponents of state aid regarding loss of local initiative and interest failed to materialize, so too will the worst fears of the objectors to federal aid prove groundless.

Still other people admit the need for federal funds but believe that they can be supplied without federal control. They urge that their administration be put in the hands of one federal agency that would deal with all activities involving public education in the states. They believe that the legislation should be carefully drawn to prohibit federal interference. They would have the funds granted for broad general purposes in order to insure a minimum foundation program of elementary and secondary education, the amount received by a state being determined on an objective basis. Furthermore, they would have the federal government require an audit to make certain that statutory standards were complied with and that the money was used for the purpose specified in the act. They believe that these standards would tend to protect the interests of the children but would not subject the schools to any kind of stifling control.

Some but not all of the group who favor federal aid without federal interference would lodge the administration of the funds in the hands of state and local officials, to be used in accordance with the same regulations as govern other school funds. Opponents of this suggestion have two divergent points of view. One faction, deeply concerned with upholding the constitutional doctrine of the separation of church and state, insists that the law prohibit the use of federal funds in support of denominational education. The other faction, sincerely concerned with equalizing education, de-

mands that the law require the allocation of federal money to private and denominational schools regardless of state policy. Division on the issue of making public money available to nonpublic schools may doom any program of federal aid to education.

SUMMARY

Expenditures for education are economically productive. A positive relationship exists between the economic status of countries and educational level. To supply adequate educational opportunities requires ever increasing amounts of money. Three causes for rising school costs are decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar, increase in pupil attendance, and improved educational services and standards. Although the United States can afford generous expenditures for schools, resistance to soaring tax burdens may lead to cuts in funds. Money for school support comes from three levels of government—local, state, and national. The major share is derived from the local unit, usually through a property tax. Glaring inequalities in the ability of local and state governments to support education have led to attempts to secure federal aid. Opponents of federal aid fear that federal control and other hazards might outweigh possible advantages.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. Ascertain the sources of school support in your community. How much money does your community spend for its schools in one year?
2. Summarize the arguments for and against federal aid to education. Does the need for federal aid outweigh the possible dangers of federal control?
3. Should public funds be used to support private or religious schools?
4. How should the obligation for school support be divided among local, state, and federal governments?
5. Compare your state with other states and with the national average as far as expenditures for education and efforts to support education are concerned.
6. What effect has the downward and upward extension of secondary education had upon school costs?

CHAPTER VIII

Living and Learning in Modern Elementary Schools

DOES THIS criticism sound familiar? "The air is full of theories, schemes, frills and fads. Especially do we fear that with so much that is new and old, fundamentals are in danger of being neglected. The children may learn these new things, but they must first learn to read, write, spell, and cipher."¹ (The frills referred to were history, science, drawing, music and manual training.)

Have you encountered the following verbal brickbats?

When we were mere boys, boys had to do a little work in school. They were not coaxed; they were hammered. Spelling, writing and arithmetic were not electives; you had to learn.

In these more fortunate times, elementary education has become in many places a sort of vaudeville show. The child must be kept amused and learn what he pleases. Many sage teachers scorn the old-fashioned rudiments; and it seems to be regarded as between a misfortune and a crime for a child to learn to read and spell by the old methods. . . . As a result of all the improvements, there is a race of gifted pupils, more or less ignorant of the once prized elements of ordinary education.²

The foregoing excerpts, the first dated 1883 and the second dated 1902, have the flavor of current pronouncements. Adults view through rosy-hued and distorted glasses the day of "readin' and 'ritin' and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of a hick'ry stick." They picture teaching as a process of routine drill on the three R's. They long for old-fashioned spelling bees with demons like *syzygy* and *parallelepipedon*. They want arithmetic taught as a highly abstract, formalized subject. They do not know that such instruction results

¹ *The Popular Educator*, 1883; reprinted in *The Grade Teacher*, February, 1953, p. 82.

² "When Grandfather Was a Boy," editorial, *New York Sun*, October 5, 1902; reprinted in *Education Digest*, September, 1952, p. 12.

in the use of the method that Sally (in a story perhaps first told by Thorndike) made famous: "If there are lots of numbers, I add. If there are only two numbers with lots of parts, I subtract. If there are just two numbers and one is a little harder than the other, I divide if they come out even. But if they don't, I multiply."

The older generation glorifies practices like those prevalent in Middletown at the close of the first quarter of the twentieth century when the Lynds wrote:

The school, like the factory, is a thoroughly regimented world. Immovable seats in orderly rows fix the sphere of activity of each child. For all, from the timid six-year-old entering for the first time to the most assured high school senior, the general routine is much the same. Bells divide the day into periods. For the six-year-olds the periods are short (fifteen to twenty-five minutes) and varied; in some they leave their seats, play games, and act out make-believe stories, although in "recitation periods" all movement is prohibited. As they grow older the taboo upon physical activity becomes stricter, until by the third or fourth year practically all movement is forbidden except the marching from one set of seats to another between periods, a brief interval of prescribed exercise daily, and periods of manual training or home economics once or twice a week. There are "study-periods" in which children learn "lessons" from "text-books" prescribed by the state, and "recitation-periods" in which they tell an adult teacher what the book has said; one hears children reciting the battles of the Civil War in one recitation period, the rivers of Africa in another, the "parts of speech" in a third; the method is much the same. With high school come some differences; more "vocational" and "laboratory" work varies the periods. But here again the lesson-text-book-recitation method is the chief characteristic of education. For nearly an hour a teacher asks questions and pupils answer, then a bell rings, on the instant books bang, powder and mirrors come out, there is a buzz of talk and laughter as all the urgent business of living resumes momentarily for the children, notes and "dates" are exchanged, five minutes pass, another bell, gradual sliding into seats, a final giggle, a last vanity case snapped shut, "In our last lesson we had just finished"—and another class is begun.³

In the mid-twentieth century some schools are reasonable facsimiles of their predecessors in Middletown. Autocratic control, re-

³ Robert S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929, p. 188.

pressive discipline, "teaching by subjects," and "recitations" still hold sway.

Gradually, however, there are appearing on the scene modern schools where genuine living and learning go on. Buildings are designed and equipped so that pupils and teachers may work together under favorable conditions in a stimulating environment. They contain special rooms, such as shops, art rooms, laboratories, auditoriums, libraries, gymnasiums, and lunchrooms. They have tastefully decorated classrooms, often with soundproofed ceilings and gaily tiled floors, large enough for children to move about freely at work and play. Movable tables and chairs permit informal arrangement for group conferences. All sorts of objects invite investigation and creative expression—workbench with tools and materials for construction work; easel with art materials; basic science equipment; piano and instruments used in creative activities; and attractive books and magazines. Bulletin boards display samples of the pupils' work. Charts show progress in skills and drills. Murals depict scenes related to units of study. In short, the schoolroom is a child's world.

In such a setting the children plan and carry out their tasks; they accept responsibility and use their freedom wisely in the self-imposed discipline of a democratic society. Each pupil feels himself an active member of a group that is facing a real situation and meeting it in a wholesome spirit. He is there not only to acquire knowledge and skills but to carry on a way of life. He learns the value of orderly participation and coöperation. Through wise guidance desirable standards of conduct become habitual. Happy and secure in appropriate surroundings and with work suited to his needs and abilities, he plods not "slow to school," but journeys forth eagerly and willingly.

THE INFLUENCE OF DEWEY

Credit for modernizing schools goes to many "frontier thinkers" and investigators. Towering above the educational philosophers is John Dewey (1859-1952), who more than any other single person, to use Max Eastman's words, "saved our children from dying of boredom in schools."

The experimental laboratory school that Dewey founded at the University of Chicago in 1896 and his voluminous writings have had profound influence upon contemporary practice. In 1899 he pointed out that the center of educational gravity was beginning to shift. He recognized that "the child becomes the sun about which the appliances of education revolve; he is the center about which they are organized." He stressed preparing pupils to live not in some future world but here and now. Through living in the fullest sense the life of today, they would be ready for tomorrow. "Education is life; that is, education is a process of living and not a preparation for future living."

Not only did Dewey regard education as life but he looked upon it also as growth. "Since growth is the characteristic of life, education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself. The criterion of the value of school education is the extent in which it creates a desire for continued growth and supplies means for making the desire effective in fact."

Dewey conceived of the school as a social institution. "The school cannot be a preparation for social life excepting as it reproduces, within itself, typical conditions of social life. . . . The only way to prepare for social life is to engage in social life. To form habits of usefulness and serviceableness apart from any direct social need and motive, apart from any existing social situation, is, to the letter, teaching the child to swim by going through motions outside the water."

Dewey stressed the importance of self-activity. He believed that a child learns by doing and thinking. "The child is already intensely active, and the question of education is taking hold of his activities, of giving them direction." When he opened his laboratory school at Chicago he sought in vain for desks and chairs that lent themselves to pupil activity. One salesman finally remarked: "I am afraid we do not have what you want. You want something at which the children may work; these are all for listening." Although he emphasized the need for self-activity, Dewey was critical of those who laid "overemphasis upon activity as an end, instead of upon *intelligent* activity." He did not place in opposition learning by doing and learning through the use of word symbols.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF RESEARCH ON CHILD DEVELOPMENT,
GROWTH, AND LEARNING

Hand in hand with the theories of Dewey and other philosophers goes the influence of research workers who are contributing to improved understanding of children and the learning process. They are drawing upon many fields—education, psychology, sociology, anthropology, psychiatry, biology, physiology, and pediatrics—to broaden our knowledge of the ways in which growth, development, and learning occur, and of the conditions under which they can best take place.

To these investigators we are indebted for the developmental approach. We see the child at a given moment in relation to both his past and his future. In the light of his past experiences and present status, we explore ways of helping him go on from there to become a more effective learner and a better-adjusted mature person.

We are mindful that time is an inescapable factor in the organization of behavior. Some children mature slowly, others rapidly; the process of growth cannot be hastened. According to Willard Olson, we must "take each child where he is and help him to grow by a process and in a direction personally satisfying to him and socially desirable."

In line with this concept we appreciate the reason for timing educational tasks. "When the body is ripe, and society requires, and the self is ready to achieve a certain task, the teachable moment has come. Efforts at teaching which would have been largely wasted if they had come earlier, give gratifying results when they come at the *teachable moment*, when the task should be learned."⁴

DEVELOPMENTAL TASKS

To the successive series of learnings, adjustments, and achievements that a child must master in the process of growing up has been applied the term "developmental tasks." To use Havighurst's explanation: "The tasks the individual must learn—the *developmental tasks* of life—are those things that constitute healthy and satisfactory growth in our society. They are the things a person

⁴ Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, Longmans, Green and Company, 1953, p. 5.

must learn if he is to be judged and to judge himself to be a reasonably happy and successful person. *A developmental task is a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of the individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks.*⁵

Developmental tasks are determined by three factors: (1) physical maturation, (2) experiences and demands of the culture, and (3) self-assigned tasks of the individual. Learning to walk in early childhood and learning acceptable behavior toward the opposite sex in adolescence are tasks necessitated by different stages of organic growth. Tasks arising from impact of the culture include learning to read, learning to control elimination of body wastes, and learning to participate as a responsible member of society. Tasks stemming primarily from motives and aspirations of the individual include choosing and preparing for an occupation and achieving a philosophy of life.

Since the adjustments that a child faces emanate partly from societal demands, lists of developmental tasks vary from one culture to another and reflect the values of those who make them. Havighurst has formulated a list based on a middle-class point of view. He organizes tasks in terms of the period when they are thought to have most significance for children. However, some tasks run through all the periods and some are never completely accomplished.

Developmental Tasks of Infancy and Childhood. For infancy and early childhood Havighurst identifies nine tasks:

1. Learning to walk.
2. Learning to take solid foods.
3. Learning to talk.
4. Learning to control the elimination of body wastes.
5. Learning sex differences and sexual modesty.
6. Achieving physiological stability.
7. Forming simple concepts of social and physical reality.
8. Learning to relate oneself emotionally to parents, siblings, and other people.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

9. Learning to distinguish right and wrong and developing a conscience.⁶

Developmental Tasks of Middle Childhood. In the next stage, middle childhood, Havighurst believes that developmental tasks grow out of "three great outward pushes. . . . There is the thrust of the child out of the home and into the peer group, the physical thrust into the world of games and work requiring neuromuscular skills, and the mental thrust into the world of adult concepts, logic, symbolism, and communication. By the end of middle childhood the individual has worked out his particular style and his level in all three areas."⁷ Nine tasks growing out of the three thrusts of growth are:

1. Learning physical skills necessary for ordinary games.
2. Building wholesome attitudes toward oneself as a growing organism.
3. Learning to get along with one's age mates.
4. Learning an appropriate masculine or feminine social role.
5. Developing fundamental skills in reading, writing, and calculating.
6. Developing concepts necessary for everyday living.
7. Developing conscience, morality, and a scale of values.
8. Achieving personal independence.
9. Developing attitudes toward social groups and institutions.⁸

FACTORS IN THE TEACHING-LEARNING PROCESS

Another contribution from research on child growth and development is an understanding of the conditions under which learning takes place and a knowledge of the principles that guide in directing learning. Among significant factors in the teaching-learning process that shape curriculum design and teaching methods are the following:

Children are alike in many ways.

Each individual is different in some ways from all other children. Each develops according to his own growth pattern.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-41.

Within each individual there are differences: that is, all parts of a child do not grow at the same rate.

Girls develop somewhat faster than boys, especially before the age of 14. Each stage of growth presents certain basic needs and certain interests. Everything a child does is caused by something or someone. In other words, all behavior is caused.

No matter what a child does he is learning. Growth and learning are continuous.

Children learn to do by doing.

Each child needs to feel that he is important, is loved, and that he "belongs." Such security helps him toward becoming a healthy individual. Each individual has many demands and pressures from his cultural environment.

The developmental needs of a child vary with his own stage of development and with the cultural influences bearing on him.⁹

GOALS OF EDUCATION

In setting goals for the modern school we should take into account both the nature of the child and the needs of society. The concept of developmental tasks helps in discovering and stating the purposes of education. "Education may be conceived as the effort of the society, through the school, to help the individual achieve certain of his developmental tasks."¹⁰

While consideration of the nature of children furnishes a starting point as a source of objectives, it supplies only one type of basic information. Coupled with it should be recognition of the culture in which the children are growing up. Since goals of education represent values that society approves and endeavors to preserve and promote, they vary from group to group.

OBJECTIVES FORMULATED BY THE EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

Objectives based on a consideration of the nature of the learner and the values which our society cherishes have been formulated by the Educational Policies Commission. They are intended not for any particular educational level but rather for "all educational agencies for all American citizens." They recognize that "the gen-

⁹ Mildred Thurston, *Helping Children Live and Learn*, Association for Childhood Education International, Bulletin No. 89, 1952, p. 11.

¹⁰ Havighurst, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

eral end of education in America at the present time is the fullest possible development of the individual within the framework of our present industrialized democratic society. The attainment of this end is to be observed in individual behavior or conduct."¹¹

Introduction to the Classification. The Commission classifies aims into four groups growing out of the areas with which education is concerned. The introduction to the classification follows:

Education Is Concerned with the Development of the Learner

The first role, or phase of total behavior, is that of the educated person. Conduct in this field is centered on the personal development, growth, and learning of the individual. It includes his use of the fundamental tools of learning, his health, his recreation, his personal philosophy. The placing of these objectives first in the list is not accidental. They deal with the development of the individual himself. In a democracy this field is of supreme importance. Success in this role conditions one's success in every other phase of life's activities. The purposes of education which fall under this section of total behavior will be referred to as *the objectives of self-realization*.

Education Is Concerned with Home, Family, and Community Life

A second area is that of home and family relationships with their immediate and natural extensions to neighbors and community. Educationally the home is the most powerful, as it is perhaps the oldest, of all social institutions. Good homes and good communities are the basic units of democracy. The activities of the educated individual which relate to these immediate, person-to-person contacts are, therefore, grouped together in a section on *the objectives of human relationship*.

Education Is Concerned with Economic Demands

The next aspect of the activities of the member of a democratic society includes the economic sphere—the creation and satisfaction of material wants. Here we consider the education of the individual as a producer, a consumer, an investor. The importance of such education in providing the indispensable material basis for comfort, safety, and even life itself is clear. The objectives within this general area will be classified under the heading of *the objectives of economic efficiency*.

¹¹ National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*, 1938, p. 41.

Education Is Concerned with Civic and Social Duties

Finally, there are the activities of the educated citizen. They involve his dealings with his government—local, state, and national—his relationships with the peoples of other nations, and his other “long-distance” contacts in large-scale collective enterprises. This field of activity is served by education through *the objectives of civic responsibility*.¹²

Statement of Objectives. Under each of the four major objectives proposed by the Educational Policies Commission are specific objectives which clarify the general statement.¹³

The Objectives of Self-Realization

The Inquiring Mind. The educated person has an appetite for learning.

Speech. The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

Number. The educated person solves his problems of counting and calculating.

Sight and Hearing. The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

Health Knowledge. The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.

Health Habits. The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.

Public Health. The educated person works to improve the health of the community.

Recreation. The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and other pastimes.

Intellectual Interests. The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.

Esthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

Character. The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

The Objectives of Human Relationship

Respect for Humanity. The educated person puts human relationships first.

Friendships. The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere, and varied social life.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 72, 90, 108.

Cooperation. The educated person can work and play with others.

Courtesy. The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.

Appreciation of the Home. The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.

Conservation of the Home. The educated person conserves family ideals.

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

Democracy in the Home. The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

The Objectives of Economic Efficiency

Work. The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.

Occupational Information. The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has *selected* his occupation.

Occupational Efficiency. The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.

Occupational Adjustment. The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.

Occupational Appreciation. The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.

Personal Economics. The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.

Consumer Judgment. The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.

Efficiency in Buying. The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.

Consumer Protection. The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

The Objectives of Civic Responsibility

Social Justice. The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstance.

Social Activity. The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.

Social Understanding. The educated citizen seeks to understand social structures and social processes.

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

Conservation. The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.

Social Applications of Science. The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a cooperating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.

Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.

Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.

LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Growth in the direction indicated by the above objectives is attained through learning experiences of the pupils. The focus of attention has shifted from formally organized subject matter deemed indispensable for a child's future well-being to his present interests and needs. In *Education for All American Children* the curriculum is defined as "... those experiences which the child has at school or under its jurisdiction. Through those experiences, plus those outside the school's program, the child grows and learns."

The preceding statement does not mean, however, that just any type of experience is acceptable. Several decades ago John Dewey asserted: "The fundamental thing is to find types of experiences, that are worth having not merely for the moment, but because of what they lead to, the questions they raise, the problems they create, the demands for new information they suggest, the activities they invoke, the larger and expanding fields into which they continuously open."

Experiences should be selected that have greatest potentials for achieving our goals. As a guide for measuring their suitability the following criteria are appropriate:

1. CHILDREN ARE GIVEN OPPORTUNITIES IN BOTH INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP SITUATIONS for physical, mental, social, emotional, and spiritual development. When children are following their own interests, there are times when they need to be alone in order to have time to think. Each child needs protection

from invasion of his rights by others. He also needs, at times, to be with others so that he knows how they think about things and how his ideas help in working out plans together.

2. THE CHILD IS EXPECTED TO DO THAT WHICH IS IN HARMONY WITH HIS ABILITY AND GROWTH. We expect to walk slowly with a very young child because he has had so little practice in walking, but that is not true with an eight- or nine-year-old child. The eight- or nine-year-old is very skillful in running races because of development and repeated practice. The same is true with reading; we expect to read to young children, but children who have learned how to read like to be independent and do their own reading most of the time. The child should be expected to do the things he can do.
3. EACH CHILD HAS FREEDOM WITHIN THE LIMITS OF A LEARNING SITUATION to move, to investigate, to try out his ideas, to plan projects, to assume responsibilities, to test his skills, and to use materials and equipment. He must respect the rights of others while enjoying freedom to develop his own interests. In a classroom some children may be painting while others are reading with the teacher. It is important for the children who are painting to be considerably quiet so that the group reading together can hear each other.
4. THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE HAS IMPORTANCE FOR THE LEARNER in that it deals with problems of concern to him as a person and as a member of his cultural group. For example, in our culture it is a valuable experience for a six-year-old to visit a grocery store or market. It is important because some of his food comes from there, his friends talk about it, and he hears many stories about the grocery store. Making the visit helps the child to have a much better understanding of the market.
5. OPPORTUNITY IS PROVIDED FOR ACTIVITIES VARIED IN TYPE AND CONTENT, WIDE IN RANGE AND CHALLENGING IN NATURE. Children like to sing and dance together for a while because it is fun and because they like the exercise. However, when they begin to tire, they are directed toward different kinds of activities, such as art work, reading, or watching something that is of interest to them. The wise teacher plans the program so that intensive activities are alternated with quiet ones.
6. OPPORTUNITIES ARE PROVIDED FOR CHILDREN TO RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS MORE THAN ONE WAY

OF DOING THINGS, to make choices, and to understand and accept the results of their decisions. When children are presented with many different kinds of materials, it is necessary for each one to make up his mind about what he is going to do. Just making a decision is important, but it is equally important to follow an idea through to completion. Usually a child is then helped to evaluate his work; that is, to decide whether or not he *feels* that he has done his very best work.

7. THERE IS CONSTRUCTIVE INTERACTION BETWEEN TEACHER AND CHILDREN and among children of the same and different maturity levels. Also, there is interaction among teachers and between teachers and parents. If children can go from one group or one room to another to share a pet which they have brought from home, if they can see their teachers visiting and planning together, if their parents visit school often, we can be reasonably sure that they are living in a good atmosphere. In such an atmosphere each child will desire to be cooperative.
8. THE CHILD MAY PRACTICE THE BEHAVIORS INDICATED BY THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LEARNING EXPERIENCE. For example, a group of ten-year-olds plan a party for their parents. It is necessary for them to plan the decorations and the food, and to decide who will be on the different committees. On the day of the party they are expected, and given the opportunity, to be hosts and hostesses to their parents.
9. OPPORTUNITIES ARE PROVIDED FOR CHILDREN TO APPRAISE THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS in terms of their own abilities and in terms of the relationship of those achievements to the welfare and the commonly accepted standards of the group. For example, in group discussion children may appraise and evaluate their work. Many teachers are skillful in directing the suggestions and constructive criticisms of children. Through this technique children learn how to improve their own work and in what ways they can make better contributions to the good living of the group.
10. PROVISION IS MADE FOR AN ATMOSPHERE THAT FOSTERS SELF-RESPECT, SELF-RELIANCE, RESPECT FOR OTHERS, AND A COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE. Such an atmosphere fosters the full development of the child. Since the teacher is largely responsible for this kind of atmosphere, he needs a variety of interests, keen imagination, good sense of humor, and faith. Children trust a teacher with these qualities and know that he is a good friend as well as a good teacher.

11. CHILDREN ARE GIVEN EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES WITH ADULTS TO PLAN AND CARRY OUT MANY IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES. Teachers have ideas and plans for activities which they know are worth while for children. When they present these ideas and plans to children, they encourage discussion, and from then on teacher and children move along together in their planning. Often it is the children who present new ideas. These are given the same time and consideration as those of the teacher.¹⁴

Ever so many kinds of learning experiences take place in school. Some, particularly in the lower grades, are too brief to justify organization into units. Their variety is infinite—the first snowfall, a squirrel gathering nuts, a sprig of forsythia, a shiny pebble, a bicycle, a pet dog. These and other interests galore have possibilities for meaningful social learnings and behaviors and the attainment of subject-matter outcomes.

The following account of a real life situation, "Seven-Year-Olds Entertain Parents," illustrates a characteristic short learning experience:

SEVEN-YEAR-OLDS ENTERTAIN PARENTS

"Wouldn't it be fun to have a party and invite our mothers and fathers!" piped up one enthusiastic youngster in the second grade.

"Oh, yes!" said Rocky.

"We could serve something yummy to eat," added Mason.

"Could we have punch?" "Could we have ice cream and cake or cookies? Maybe we could have some sandwiches, too." The suggestions were many and varied, with homemade ice cream and cookies leading all.

"Let's make chocolate chip cookies. They're my favorite," said Margaret.

"I know how to make molasses cookies, because I've helped to make them at home," replied Sally.

Garo said, "Peanut butter cookies would be a good combination with chocolate chip."

We finally decided on two kinds of cookies and thereupon appointed a chocolate chip cookie committee and a peanut butter cookie committee. We also planned to make two gallons of chocolate and vanilla ice cream in freezers obtained from a willing parent.

¹⁴ Thurston, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

The day before the party found two very industrious committees in the kitchen giving full vent to their domestic tendencies.

"I'll cream the butter and sugar together," said Sally, "but, oh, boy! that's hard work, and when I get tired you can have a turn, Peggy."

"How about it if Paul and I beat up the eggs," said Johanna, "and then when it's mixed we can all have a turn to beat it."

"O-oh, this looks wonderful! I wish I could taste it," sighed Pat.

The children timed the cookies in the oven, amid squeals of delight and remarks such as, "Don't they look simply delicious!"

The day of the party twenty-four bright-eyed seven-year-olds arrived at school ready and anxious for a morning of vigorous churning. Lined up ready for a turn at the handle of the ice cream freezer Paul remarked, "Boy, I can really do this! Want to feel my muscles?"

"Aw, I'll bet I'm stronger than you are," said Kenny.

"Come on, give me a turn," called Pat.

As the handle became more difficult to turn the children realized that their mixture was at last beginning to become real ice cream.

The party was a success. Happy, beaming boys and girls served ice cream and cookies to their guests, and it was difficult to tell who enjoyed the party most—adults or children.

The experience was a rewarding one. The whole project was planned and carried out by the children—even to the details of figuring costs and going to the store to buy ingredients.¹⁵

UNITS OF WORK

Beyond the early elementary years, learning experiences are commonly organized into "units." These may be classified as resource units and teaching units.

Resource units furnish source material, usually worked out by a group of teachers and providing much more material than could be used in any one class. They comprise objectives, suggested approaches, activities, evaluation procedures, and a bibliography of teaching aids. From the resource units teachers gain perspective in formulating problems with children, become acquainted with new subject matter and teaching aids, and secure help in preparing a teaching unit.

Teaching units are built by a teacher in coöperation with his pu-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

pils in a specific classroom situation. Although he may profit by the experience of others, he and his pupils decide on the particular aims, content, activities, materials of instruction, and evaluation techniques of their unit.

Selection of a unit may be made in several ways. The following passage gives four common methods:

CHOOSING UNITS OF WORK

Selecting a unit of work can be done in a number of ways. The methods presented here are those in current use.

1. The unit of work can be chosen cooperatively by teacher and children out of the interests and on-going activities of the group and in line with their self-appointed goals for the year.

Some modern schools would select this method as being the one sure to fit the needs and interests of the children and offering the most opportunities for practice in democratic procedures. The children would have many opportunities to plan, think through problems, seek out facts and information, test their knowledge, and act in relation to it. This method tends to result in a unified and coordinated curriculum for each year, and to lead to scholarship and growth that suits the maturity of the children. In a school such as this, the teacher and children are the curriculum makers, though the wise teacher will consider the contribution each year makes to the children in the light of their total school experience. There is always the danger of repetition, omission of important areas, and selection of less significant experiences unless the choice of each unit of work is checked against the growing pattern.

2. The unit of work can be chosen cooperatively by teacher and children within the framework of a flexible curriculum requirement so that it fits the needs and interests of the children.

Some schools prefer this method of selection to unguided choice because it provides a pattern of continuity from grade to grade and helps to insure contact with important areas and the development of significant experiences. Many modern schools tend to set up a framework of curriculum content which is the result of cooperative long-term planning by many people. It is based upon study of the environment with its resources and liabilities, the needs which life and adult society expect children to meet at these levels, and study of the general abilities and needs of children in this environment.

In such a school the teacher is furnished with a broad outline (which she probably helped to make) of areas of work and some general goals; she and the children fill in the details through the units of work which they develop. If the social studies area assigned to first grade is the study of home, school, and community life, there are many units of work which would fit into this framework and meet the growth needs of the children. An upper grade assigned the study of the Americas would also have a broad field in which to choose and develop units of work. The cooperative work of children and teacher in selecting units of work and carrying through the details of the study could result in approximately the same values to the children as would be derived from the first method of selection.

3. The unit can be selected from source volumes which list units of work or from collections of units and logs or diaries of units which are available commercially.

Selecting units of work from source volumes or ready-made unit materials or records of any sort must be done with thoughtfulness and awareness of the difficulties and pitfalls which exist in this method. One of the characteristics of a good unit of work is that it is made for and with a specific group of children and is carefully planned to fit their needs. Rigid adherence to any plan not made for the specific teaching situation in which it is being used may result in poor teaching. Ready-made units, records of work done by other teachers with other groups of children, and commercial materials may offer suggestions of method, content, activities, and materials, but the teacher is the curriculum maker who evaluates, selects, and makes out of the available possibilities a curriculum unit which fits her group of children.

4. The unit of work can be developed from and around required textbook material so that it meets the textbook-course-of-study requirement and still incorporates as much as possible of child interest and opportunities for initiative, enrichment, and differentiated work.

Teachers in another type of school must begin with definite, exacting requirements of subject matter, textbooks, and tests for evaluation. Required basic textbooks may be the actual course of study. In this situation, too, there is opportunity for the teacher to build worth-while units of work though she is limited in her choice of content. The ma-

terial of the basic textbook or course of study can become the core requirement for units of work and around this core the teacher and children can build enrichment and activities of many sorts. The children can help with planning and organization, can do supplementary and recreational reading in the area of study, and can carry on a variety of related activities.

The series of units developed during a year should provide a well-rounded program of experience. Each unit grows out of the one which preceded it and leads into the next unit so that the flow of experience is continuous, but each unit also tends to emphasize certain types of experience and subject matter more than others. The total year's experience should result in a balance of emphasis and activities.

Responsibility for selecting units of work should be shared with the children in the greatest possible measure because of the experience values to be gained from exploring areas and evaluating their significance. A brief unit might be undertaken occasionally merely because it caught the children's interest; however, there would not be much justification in a modern program of education for carrying on studies of but little significance even though the children might suggest them. One of the responsibilities of good teaching is to guide children to higher levels of purposing. When children choose to do inconsequential things it is usually because of immaturity and lack of understanding; they have not lived long enough or accumulated sufficient experience to realize that one study has relatively little value, while another has high social or educational significance. There may be an occasional time when the teacher will find it wise to make a selection herself and utilize existing interests to guide children into acceptance of a unit which she is convinced will meet the requirements of the course of study. If she finds it impossible to enlist the children's interest, wisdom would demand that the plan be modified so that it does seem worth while to the children. Little real learning takes place in any situation which, in the children's eyes, lacks value.¹⁶

Each teacher must find units which will best serve a particular community and group of pupils. Examination of a list of topics for units suggested by Hildreth for the first six grades gives an idea of the kind of areas often covered.¹⁷

¹⁶ Ruth G. Strickland, *How to Build a Unit of Work*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1946, No. 5, 1946, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷ Gertrude Hildreth, *Child Growth Through Education*, Ronald Press Company, 1948, pp. 98-99.

GRADE I

A Grocery Store
Our Happy Playhouse
Our Very Own Circus
Farm, Plant and Animal Helpers
Dogs
Trains

GRADE III

The Story of Wool
Shoes
Indian Life
Cotton
Paper
Aviation
Weather
Transportation
Homes

GRADE V

The Spanish Trail
A Trip to Europe and the British Isles
History of Transportation in the United States
Conserving Our Plant Life
How the Fishing Industry Helps Man
Egypt
History of Communication
Clothing
Young Nutritionists in Action
Marionettes Tell the Story of Robin Hood

GRADE II

A Fair and a Study of Milk
A Play City
Cotton
Wheat
Our Bird Friends
Bees
Farm to City and Back
Post Office
Police Protection
Boats and the Harbor

GRADE IV

The Spanish Trail
A Trip to Hawaii
Indians of the Southwest
Mexico
Trees
Creatures of the Sea
When We Were Nomads
Story of Communication: The Telephone
The History of Lighting
Our Feathered Friends
Round and Round the World

GRADE VI

Conserving Our Plant Life
Saving
Travel on Land, on Sea, and in the Air
Bonds of Air (How Aviation Binds the Nations Together)
Rome from Legendary Kings to Great Emperors
A Medieval Tournament
The Story of Records
History of Communication
Budgeting: The Arithmetic of Finance
Our Trip Abroad
Farm Life

After a unit has been chosen a teacher thinks through the learning possibilities and sets up teaching objectives. The more thoroughly he works out a flexible preliminary outline, the better prepared he is to assist the children as they make their plans and set up their own goals.

In organizing and carrying out a unit of work the teacher may have recourse to these points as a guide:¹⁸

GUIDE TO POINTS TO CONSIDER IN PLANNING AND CARRYING OUT A UNIT OF WORK

1. Survey the needs and interests which justify this unit and make it significant. Are there any general needs and problems of life which make this study important? Are there community needs which might be helped? Do these children have need for the study and are they interested in it?
2. List important objectives or goals which might be achieved through this study.
3. Make an overview of the subject matter which might enter into the study, the kinds of experiences which would be good, and any ways in which different subjects could be drawn in or integrated with this unit.
4. List books and other materials for the children to use as well as some for teacher reference.
5. Plan possible ways of introducing the study and getting children interested in it.
6. Plan the working period, keeping in mind the fact that only part of the working plan can be arranged in advance because the children are to help plan it.
 - (a) Carrying on discussion and other activities which help the teacher find out what children know about the subject, their attitudes toward it, and what they are interested in.
 - (b) Planning the unit with the children and getting the work under-way by listing questions on which information is wanted; making charts showing what to do; planning excursions, construction, and other activities; finding and listing sources of information, tools, and materials; and arranging committees to work on some of the questions or problems.
 - (c) Gathering information and ideas from books and other sources and sharing through discussions, reports, and other means. Carrying out the plans for excursions and other projects.

¹⁸ Strickland, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

- (d) Organizing the ideas gathered, checking the list of questions to see whether adequate answers have been found, and to see that the children really understand the material they have been studying.
 - (e) Summarizing the total learnings in some way. It could be done through giving a program for parents or another group of children, writing an original play, painting a mural, or making a record for the class yearbook. Evaluating would be necessary to give the children an opportunity to consider the worth of the work they have been doing. There might be a group-made test on important points to be mastered.
7. Plan the evaluation of the total unit of work. Final evaluation would be concerned with two main points:
- (a) Growth and changes which have taken place in the children.
 - (b) Individual strengths, weaknesses, and problems which need further attention.

SAMPLE UNIT

This sample unit, *Community Living in Switzerland*, was used in the fourth grade in Ithaca, New York.¹⁹

GRADE 4, UNIT IV

COMMUNITY LIVING IN SWITZERLAND

Suggested time allotment: 7 weeks

I. *Suggested Specific Objectives*

- A. An understanding of the ways in which the people of Switzerland have adapted themselves to the physical features of their environment
- B. A knowledge of the effects of geographic factors on the climate of Switzerland
 - Altitude
- C. An understanding and appreciation of the character of the Swiss people
- D. An understanding of how the Swiss provide for their needs during the winters
- E. An increased willingness on the part of the pupils to work together for the common good of the class
- F. A growth in map reading skills

¹⁹ Loretta E. Klee, *et al.*, *Curriculum Guide in Social Studies Grades Three and Four*, Ithaca Public Schools, Ithaca, New York, 1949, pp. 54-59.

II. *Suggested Approaches*

- A. Travel motif
- B. Story of William Tell
- C. Pictures and other visual aids

III. *Content*

- A. What type of people are the Swiss?
 - 1. Strong
 - 2. Courageous
 - 3. Liberty-loving
 - 4. Well educated
 - 5. Independent
 - 6. Resourceful
 - 7. Energetic
 - 8. Thrifty
 - 9. White race
 - 10. People dress as we do
 - 11. Government much like ours
 - Country divided into states called cantons
- B. Location and topography
 - 1. Distance from the equator
 - Compare with Ithaca
 - 2. Southern Europe
 - a. Bordered by France, Germany, Italy
 - b. Land of three languages
 - 1) French
 - 2) German
 - 3) Italian
 - c. Many speak English
 - 3. Absence of large bodies of water
 - 4. Northern Hemisphere
 - 5. Eastern Hemisphere
 - 6. The Alps
- C. In what type of homes do these people live?
 - 1. Wood
 - a. Many trees on mountainsides
 - b. Easy to obtain
 - c. Cheap
 - 2. Lower part covered with plaster
 - Keeps out cold winds
 - 3. Burn wood for heating and cooking
 - a. Abundance of trees

- b. No coal, gas or oil
- 4. Steep roofs in some parts of country
- 5. Flat roofs in regions of high winds
 - a. Winds blow snow off
 - b. Roofs held down by heavy stones
- D. What things help many people earn their livings in this mountainous land?
 - 1. Herds
 - a. Cows
 - 1) Taken to mountain pastures in early May
 - 2) Stop at May pasture
 - a) Hut built of wood
Many trees
 - 3) Move on to alp pasture in early June
 - a) Hut built of stone
 - (1) No trees
 - (2) Above tree line
 - 4) Milk made into cheese
 - 5) Begin journey homeward in early September
 - a) Stop again at May pasture
 - b) Arrive home in October
 - b. Goats
 - 1) Taken to mountain pasture each morning during summer
 - 2) Will eat coarser and shorter grass than cows
 - 3) Can graze on slopes too steep for any other use
 - 2. Factories
 - a. Watches and clocks
 - b. Music boxes
 - c. Laces and embroideries
 - d. Milk chocolate
 - e. Cheese
 - f. Condensing and canning milk
 - g. Cloth—"dotted Swiss"
 - h. Furniture
 - 3. Tourist trade
 - a. Switzerland—"the playground of Europe"
 - 1) Beautiful scenery
 - a) Snow-capped mountains
 - b) Waterfalls
 - c) Lakes

- 2) Sports
 - a) Skiing
 - b) Mountain climbing
 - c) Skating
 - d) Coasting
 - e) Tobogganing
 - f) Ice-boating
- 3) Some go for health
- b. Swiss furnish hotels
- c. Farmers supply hotels with dairy products
- d. Men serve as guides
- e. Men operate trains and automobiles
- E. What is summer like on the farms?
 - 1. Season of preparation for long, cold winter
 - a. Most land is used for raising hay
 - 1) Country is rough and mountainous
 - 2) No large areas of level land
 - 3) Small farms
 - b. Animals graze out of doors
 - c. Make cheese from goat's milk
 - d. Raise vegetable garden
 - e. Make woolen clothes for winter
- F. What is winter life like on the farms?
 - 1. Barn attached to house
 - a. Makes farm work easier
 - b. Need not wade through snowdrifts
 - c. Animals remain in barns
 - 2. Men carve wooden toys and make watches and clocks
 - 3. Women make lace and embroidery
 - 4. Dangers—peculiar to mountainous regions
 - a. Avalanches
 - 1) Building sheds over highways in path of avalanches
 - 2) Planting forests in path of avalanches
 - 3) Building walls in the path of avalanches
 - b. Deep snows
 - 1) Monks
 - 2) Hospices
 - 3) St. Bernard dogs
 - c. Glaciers
 - Method of crossing

G. Why are the mountains of Switzerland a source of wealth to her people?

1. Many waterfalls

a. Produce electricity

1) Runs machinery in factories

2) Furnishes cities and towns with electric light

3) Furnishes power for trains and street cars

2. Beautiful scenery

H. Why are the Swiss not great world traders?

1. No seacoast

2. No harbors

3. No ships

4. Do carry on foreign trade

a. By road

b. By railroad

c. By river boat

I. What important rivers have their sources in the Alps?

1. Rhine flows into North Sea

2. Rhone flows into Mediterranean Sea

3. Po flows into Adriatic Sea

4. Danube flows into Black Sea

5. Trace all from source to mouth

6. Roads and railroads often follow the rivers

J. What are the leading Swiss cities?

1. Located in the valleys or on the plateaus

a. Geneva

1) Largest and best known

2) Manufacturing and business center

b. Basel

c. Zurich

d. Bern—capital

e. Locate each on the map

K. Schools in Switzerland

IV. *Activities*

A. Globe and map study—Training in Basic Skills

1. Find Switzerland on the globe and on a map of the world.

2. Compare the distance of Geneva and Ithaca from the equator.

3. On a physical map locate: highlands, lowlands, mountains, lakes, tunnels.

4. In what direction would you travel in going up the Rhine? Rhone? Po? Danube? Going down each of these rivers?

5. Locate the body of water into which each of these rivers flows.
 6. Find the source and mouth of each of these four rivers.
 7. Locate on the globe and maps: France, Germany, Italy—the countries that border Switzerland.
 8. Locate the Alps Mountains on a globe and on a map.
- B. Problems to talk over—Critical Thinking, Interpretation and Judgment
1. Why do the Swiss dress and live much as we do?
 2. What do the Swiss eat?
 3. Compare the dinner you had yesterday with a Swiss dinner.
 4. Why are the summers in Switzerland seasons of preparation for the winters?
 5. How do the Swiss prepare for the winter seasons?
 6. Why are the cows taken to the mountain pastures for the summer?
 7. How have the mountains been a source of wealth for the Swiss people?
 8. Why do many rivers have their sources in Switzerland?
 9. Compare the length of daylight in Switzerland with that in Ithaca.
 10. How are the Swiss homes heated and lighted? Why?
 11. Compare your home with one in Geneva.
 12. Show how the climate of Switzerland becomes different as you travel from lowlands to highlands.
 13. In what parts of Switzerland is the climate most like that found in Ithaca?
- C. Floor talks—Finding Information and Sharing Learning with Others
1. An Airplane Trip Across Switzerland
 2. A Glacier
 3. A Skiing Party in the Swiss Alps
 4. A Climb to the Top of a Mountain
 5. A Day in a Swiss Village
 6. A Visit to a Mountain Pasture
 7. A Tour of Swiss Cities
 8. William Tell
- D. Writing Activities—Opportunity for Working Together in Groups
1. Collect and mount pictures of the people, homes, occupations, sports, etc. Label for the use of future classes.
 2. Write original stories and poems.
 3. Write a class book on "Living in Switzerland."

4. Divide the class into groups to write each chapter. Illustrate with original sketches.
5. Write letters for tourist information.
- E. Construction—Provision for Individual Differences and Interests
 1. Model of a chalet
 2. Model of an Alpine peak, colored green at the base and white at the top
 3. Pictorial map of Switzerland with small drawings or pictures of cows and goats, chalets and villages. Show the special products of the cities, too.
 4. Sand or project table: May pasture, alp pasture, mountain climbing, a skiing party, etc.
- F. Dramatization
 1. Mountain Climbing Trip
 2. Story of William Tell
 3. A Day in the May Pasture
 4. A Day in the Alp Pasture
 5. A Year with a Swiss Family
 - a. Summer—a season of preparation for winter
 - b. Winter
 - 1) Work
 - 2) Sports
- G. Art
 1. Sketch a map of Switzerland, showing also France, Germany and Italy.
 2. Prepare map of Europe with Switzerland in solid black.
 3. Sketch map showing the main rivers.
 4. Draw pictures of Swiss scenery and sports.
 5. Draw pictures of a Swiss boy; a Swiss girl.
 6. Illustrate by posters or frieze any of the phases of Swiss life which particularly interest the class.
- H. Games
 1. Make up guessing games: "What Am I?" based on the flowers, animals, leading manufactured products, cities, rivers, etc., of Switzerland.
 2. Make up games to find the meaning of these words:

valley	falls	tree line
pass	avalanche	altitude
source	mountaineers	snow line
tunnel	upstream	chalet
mouth	downstream	
glacier	summit	

PLACE OF SUBJECT MATTER IN UNITS

Although the unit approach centers attention on the desires and needs of pupils, it does not abruptly jettison subject matter. Instead it achieves a balance between formal instruction in skills and a program of worth-while learning activities. Tools of learning are taught in a functional and useful manner. Whenever feasible, information is acquired through study of actual problems. Practice in mastery of skills is provided when readiness and need exist.

An analysis of units of work reveals how the tools of learning become an integral part of learning experiences. Although the daily program does not list the three R's as separate subjects, they are better taught and are often given more time than was formerly the case. Instead of conning a single reading book over and over again, pupils read from dozens of books for real purposes—to solve problems, to locate information, to understand a process, to check or verify a point, to share a bit of prose or poetry with classmates. They use arithmetic in connection with many phases of units—to measure material in constructing an exhibit case, to draw maps of a community to scale, to figure the weekly and yearly wages of laborers, to count money, to make change, to keep accounts in connection with class projects, to keep temperature recordings, to read decimal fractions in interpreting statistics. They turn to spelling, handwriting, and oral and written language as genuine needs arise. They keep individual and class records of class projects, discuss plans of work, outline material for stories, organize talks, write letters, make booklets of their experiences, compose verses and songs, write labels for maps, diagrams, and charts. We could take other subjects and show how they too are incorporated into an integrated program. Actually, all learning experiences involved in units can be identified as parts of traditional subject-matter fields.

Although units constitute a large part of the curriculum, they are not the whole of it. Some topics, like weather and seasonal changes, are taken up occasionally throughout the year. Other interests, such as news items, holidays, unexpected contributions from children or guests, and books not related to the unit, are short-lived and for a time turn attention from the unit. Often time is set aside for systematic practice of skills in addition to the drill afforded in units.

Fields like music and art offer contributions that are worth-while ends in themselves. To make these areas handmaidens that further the interests of a unit is to miss some of their most potent possibilities. At all times the teacher keeps the organization of the work flexible enough to make use of unexpected learning opportunities.

DAILY PROGRAM .

In the traditional school the program was cut up into short periods ten to thirty minutes long. Typical of its day was the accompanying program, prepared in 1926 by the Supervisor of Rural Schools in the State Department of Education in Illinois, and recommended for use in one-teacher schools.²⁰

In a modern school with a curriculum built not around subjects but around units of work we find a new type of daily program. The schedule changes somewhat from day to day to fit the children's needs and purposes as well as the local situation. Variable factors make it impractical to set up an unalterable program for every school or for every teacher. However, each teacher should prepare a tentative schedule to insure progress with economy of time and effort.

A few guiding principles may assist a teacher in formulating a daily program. First, a program should be flexible. Often different amounts of time are shifted to meet emergencies, to allow for continuity of work, and to take advantage of temporary interests and occasional learning opportunities. Excursions and auditorium programs demand this shifting. Second, a program should be consistent. Flexibility does not mean lack of plan. Some aspects of the day adjust readily to a routine. Thus provision can be made for regularly recurring events such as rest and lunch periods, recess, health inspection, and dismissal. Third, the school day should be divided into relatively large blocks of time. Children require time to work uninterruptedly at well-chosen tasks. Fourth, a program should insure balance and variety of activities. Both daily and long-range planning call for consideration of the breadth of the school program and relative emphasis on different areas in terms of the needs of a given class.

²⁰ U. J. Hoffman, *A Program for Study and Instruction in One-Teacher Schools*, Circular No. 210, Issued by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Illinois, 1926, p. 15.

PROGRAM FOR STUDY AND CLASS AND INDIVIDUAL INSTRUCTION

Begin	Time	Subject	Grades	Kind of Instruction	Pages in Course
9:00	10	Gen. Exercise	All	Music, Current Events, etc.	327-329.
9:10	20	Reading	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Individual, to classes that will not recite.	127-153-187-213-260.
9:30	30	Reading	1, 2, (3, 4)	Class Daily.	57-83-104.
10:00	15	Reading	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Class to those that did not have individual.	127-153-187-213-260.
10:15	15	Writ. & Spell.	All	Class on Alternate Days.	78-123-168-234-45-169-199-235-282.
10:30	15	Rest		Directed Play	
10:45	20	Arithmetic	4, 5, 6, (7, 8)	Individual to classes that will not recite.	139-155-190-215-262.
11:05	20	Read & Num.	1, 2, 3	Class Daily.	57-83-104-67-88-110.
11:25	35	Arithmetic	4, 5, 6 (7, 8)	Class to those that did not have individual.	139-155-190-215-262.
12:00	60	Noon		Lunch and Games	
1:00	20	Grammar	5, 6, 7, 8	Individual to those that will not recite.	162-194-219-268.
1:20	15	Read & Language	1, 2	Class Daily.	57-83-71-95.
1:35	10	Language	(3, 4)	Class Daily.	117-132.
1:45	30	Language & Gram.	5, 6, 7, 8	Class to those that did not have individual.	162-194-219-268.
2:15	15	Phys. & Civics	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Class or individual as desired.	174-202-253-301-242-288.
2:30	15	Rest		Directed Play.	
2:45	15	Const. & Nat. Study	(1, 2) (3, 4)	Class Daily.	70-94-79-101-123-142.
3:00	20	Hist. & Geog.	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Individual to those that will not recite.	171-199-236-282-182-209-257-305.
3:20	20	History	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Class to those that did not have individual.	171-199-236-282.
3:40	20	Geography	(5, 6) (7, 8)	Class to those that did not have individual.	182-209-257-305.
4:00	10	Dismissal			

This program makes possible a better division of time. Sufficient is assigned for individual instruction and more is allowed for class periods of those that receive class instruction. If grades are absent, longer class periods are possible. Every grade should have either individual or class instruction every day in every subject, except in writing and spelling.

SAMPLE PROGRAMS

The following suggested time allotments from Pennsylvania and New York, respectively, illustrate possible ways of employing time to the best advantage:

SUGGESTED APPROXIMATE TIME ALLOTMENTS (Pennsylvania)²¹

(These were based on the total day, including lunch hours and recesses. The order in which the items are given is not significant.)

Areas of Experience	General Percentage of Time by Weeks	
	Primary	Intermediate
Opening Routines	4%	4%
Attendance, reading the Bible, ^a flag salute, music, exchange of news and interesting experiences, care of the room and equipment, checking individual health, social and emotional needs, etc.		
Language Arts—Reading Activities	25%	14%
Systematic development of basic reading skills and abilities—mechanics of reading, vocabulary, understandings and meanings, independent word recognition, essential study habits; library reading; and reading activities which grow out of the experience unit in progress.		
Free Play Activities (Recesses, A.M. and P.M.)	8%	8%
Experiences in the Social Living Areas	14%	17%
Development of experience units—planning and discussing activities, executing planned activities, using elementary industrial arts materials, using community resources, doing research and reporting, evaluating work done, pooling experiences of committees and individuals, listening, reading, writing, and creative expression.		
Lunch Period Activities	15%	15%
Lunch, development of correct eating habits, and social courtesies. Rest or quiet games, recreational listening and recreational reading. Free play.		
Arithmetic Experiences	7%	11%
Developing number concepts, development and drill in fundamental operations, and development of skills in reasoning. Application to real experiences—social uses.		

^a Sections 3901, 3902 of the Pennsylvania School Laws.

²¹ *The Elementary Course of Study*, Bulletin 233-B, The Interim Report, 1949, Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, pp. 42-43.

Areas of Experience	Primary	Intermediate
Aesthetic and Creative Experiences	10%	10%
Teaching art and music; free reading, literature, crafts, assemblies, dramatization, dramatic play, club meetings; and activities of a creative or aesthetic nature which grow out of the experience unit in progress.		
Health Activities	8%	8%
Health and safety instruction, physical education, recreation and rest.		
Language Arts Activities (Phases other than reading)	9%	13%
Listening, usage in both oral and written expression, spelling, handwriting, use of dictionary and library techniques. Supplemented by language activities which grow out of the experience unit in progress.		

AN ILLUSTRATIVE PROGRAM

(This is how one teacher of the intermediate division worked out her schedule from the general time allotments.)

Hour	Number of Minutes	Area of Work
9:00 A.M.	15	Opening routines.
9:15	60	Language arts, particularly reading activities of all kinds.
10:15	15	{ Health, Physical Education, etc. { Free play activities (recess) { Rest, safety instruction, etc. (Planned as a whole, exact times differ daily.)
10:30	15	
10:45	15	
11:00	40	Arithmetic.
11:40	20	Language arts—Spelling and/or Handwriting.
12:00 Noon	60	
1:00 P.M.	75	Social Living Area.
2:15	15	Afternoon recess
2:30	45	Language Arts (wide variety to suit situation).
3:15	45	Aesthetic and Creative Experiences.
4:00		Dismissal.
Total 420 minutes		

SUGGESTED TIME ALLOTMENTS (New York)²²

Morning Session, 8.45—11.45 a.m.

8.45—10.20 a.m.

Health inspection will take place as discussed on pages 152–53. Probably group discussion, work period, trips and assemblies will take

²² *Child Development Guides for Teachers of Six, Seven and Eight-Year-Old Children*, University of the State of New York Press, 1949, pp. 151–152.

place during this hour depending on the needs and plans of the group. Sometimes more than this time will be necessary for trips; at other times the whole hour and a quarter will be given over to the work period with a discussion at either the beginning or the end. The assembly may be held every week or even less often, except in a small school where there may be daily or triweekly assemblies. Assemblies which are held frequently would not take more than 15 or 20 minutes. A short period for rest or relaxation is necessary for the younger children in these age groups. This should be followed by a lunch such as milk or a drink of water and a graham cracker or fruit.

10.20—11.45 a.m.

An outdoor period of at least one-half hour should begin this second block of time. The teacher and children may plan to use the rest of this time for language arts, singing and/or rhythms.

11.45 a.m.—1 p.m. Lunch hour

Afternoon Session 1—3 p.m.

Part of this time will be used by the teacher of the younger children as a work period during which toward the end of the year the teacher may give individual or group help in reading while other children are following their own interests. In such a scheme special teachers would have a splendid opportunity to help children who are working on a special interest. Some may want help in science, others in art or music. Part of the time may be used for original stories or the teacher may read to the group.

This time will be used by teachers and children of older age levels for group instruction in mathematics, word study, writing; for individual work to eradicate particular difficulties; and for workbooks or the use of similar practice materials. During this time these older children may also need to use the services of the special teachers.

NEW PROCEDURES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS

The modern approach to teaching involves new methods and instructional materials. The assignment-study-recitation-test method has been superseded by an array of procedures. Among them are oral report, discussion, dramatization, committee work, demonstration, experiment, collection and classification of exhibits, and manipulative and creative activities as in dancing, art, and music.

Changed methods call for multiple materials of instruction. A single book has been replaced by unnumbered books, magazines,

pamphlets, and newspapers. Audio-visual aids such as radio, television, motion pictures, slides, filmstrips, models, specimens, flat pictures, maps, globes, and charts are available. Community resources are exploited by excursions, real experiences, interviews, camping, and service projects.

MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION

Intimately bound up with the process of learning are measurement and evaluation. Teachers employ instruments of evaluation not merely to discover whether pupils have mastered bits of subject matter but to find out whether they are making progress toward desired objectives of the school program. Education, being concerned with the total development of the child, requires that appraisal of his attainments take into account all the factors that contribute to his becoming an efficient, useful, and emotionally stable person.

Evaluation is often a coöperative process in which pupils and teachers join forces. It is not restricted to any special time. Almost daily the pupils summarize and appraise their learning, plans, and procedures, and weigh evidences of growth.

Teachers have a host of ways of finding out about a pupil's progress. They avail themselves of teacher-made tests, standardized tests, collections of the pupil's work, discussions, conferences, transcriptions, anecdotal records, diaries, case studies, and sociograms.

RECORDS AND REPORTS

Information about each child is kept as part of a cumulative record of his school history. Some is preserved for only a year; some becomes part of his permanent record. Among the data is information concerning attendance, grade placement, family background, reports on health examinations, scores on psychological and achievement tests, anecdotal records, samples of his work, comments by teachers, summaries of questionnaires and interviews, and reports on parent-teacher conferences.

In the traditional school, report cards containing marks in attendance, deportment, and each school subject were sent to the parents at regular intervals. Sometimes percentage terms were used; sometimes the letters E, G, F, P, for "excellent," "good,"

"fair," "poor," or S and U for "satisfactory" and "unsatisfactory" respectively. The marking system usually involved comparison of a pupil with his classmates or with standards set up for his grade. Parents and pupils alike found the system baffling and disturbing.

To give parents a meaningful picture of a child's progress, schools have experimented with diverse plans. Some have used improved forms of report cards to provide comprehensive information concerning the child's attitudes, study skills, character and personality traits, achievement, and reasons for progress or lack of progress. Others have used individual descriptive letters addressed to parents and parent-teacher conferences.

Two ways of presenting reports are illustrated by the following excerpts:

*HOME REPORT OF SECOND GRADE PUPIL*²³

June report. Two such reports are made each year.

R.'s school attendance has been much more regular this year, and this has had a definite effect upon his progress. It is so necessary for his feeling of security and his general stability that he have as few deviations from schedule as possible. He becomes upset and shows much insecurity if he has only partial information on a subject.

He has shown a strong interest in the science work with Miss B. He is very eager for facts and to be better informed regarding things about him. This work furnishes him this opportunity. He has found it difficult to be patient enough to stick to one problem until it is thoroughly answered. His tendency has been to get a little information, then go off to something quite irrelevant. Miss B. has been trying to help him stay long enough with a question to answer it as completely as he can at his age. He seems to show quite a bit of improvement in this respect. Your cooperation in helping him to get material relative to the subject under discussion, in helping him formulate his questions and make his list to bring to school, and in giving him facts in answer to his questions helps him to get his materials better organized and in more usable form.

Recently R. has shown a decided interest in his reading. He is acquiring enough independence so that he is enjoying the content more. He is a little less analytical in his approach. This means he attends more closely to the content, and is less concerned about making mistakes. He has a tendency to attend so much to the word whether or not it is

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

right that he loses the story. Then he goes back and rereads it saying, "That doesn't make sense." All this tends to make him read slowly. He did as good a piece of work in reading his birthday book, "The House at Pooh Corner," as I have ever seen him do. Even though the material was very difficult, the content was so interesting to him that it carried him along. I was hoping he would continue to read some of this book himself, with your help, of course.

He is expressing his ideas a little more freely in writing. He is able to write very well.

He enjoys the arithmetic work and is accurate in it. He is working in his second arithmetic book.

Miss W. says R. always has many good ideas to express in art. She is encouraging him to take time to finish his pictures more carefully. His eagerness to hurry on to something else undoubtedly expresses his wealth of ideas.

Miss S. says R. shows more control in his rhythm work. He is less scattered in his ideas, less tense in his interpretations and more reasonable. He is not so easily upset when he does not understand things.

R. is less disturbed by others than he was. Their seemingly unsocial actions do not seem to upset him so much. Several times I have noticed him taking a definite stand for something he feels to be right and not giving up too easily. If we can help him to be reasonable along with this determination, I think it will be to his advantage.

It seems, too, R. has a little better perspective on things than he had last year. We shall continue in our efforts to help him to recognize nonessentials more readily, and to worry less about unimportant details. It seems extremely important that we do all we can to help him overcome this habit since it so limits his effectiveness.

Have you suggestions about R. or our work with him that would help us to work more intelligently with him? .

REPORT TO PARENTS OF THIRD GRADE PUPIL

Name of Child: M.

Date: June

Grade: III

M.'s academic record is about average for a child her age. In reading, accuracy of vocabulary recognition is good. She reads rather slowly. She has a bad habit of asking words she already knows, just to get attention. (Do you know the reason for her great desire for attention? Do her older brother and sister take time to listen to her ideas?)

M. has a fairly good knowledge of the fundamental arithmetic processes with which she has had experience. Speed and accuracy in simple addition and subtraction combinations are good. She can do simple

column addition and borrowing in subtraction. She has a tendency to lose interest in any piece of work which becomes a little irksome.

M. has recently shown excellent ability in written English. We considered her story of "The Coronation on the Radio" unusually good. She has excellent ability to select and organize important facts in writing the account of an event. She recently has shown real interest in improving her handwriting.

Miss W. says about M.'s art work: "Drawing has improved. Composition of pictures also much better. Handles crayons very well. Needs much more practice in painting."

Miss S. feels that M. is much more cooperative in outdoor play activities. She is more "sure of herself and not so much on the defensive" as she was in the fall.

She has again shown great interest in the Bird Club. Miss W. says she has excellent ability in finding and organizing materials. She reads all types of books to gather the information she wants.

M. has gained six pounds since June of last year. Her weight in May was $51\frac{3}{4}$ pounds.

She is a fine, cooperative member of this group. She is alert and interested in so many things. She contributes much in introducing new interests to the group. She should do good fourth grade work next year. School days covered by report: 87

Days absent: $2\frac{1}{2}$

Times tardy: 1

Periodic parent-teacher interviews have proved one of the most revealing ways of reporting to parents. Such conferences present a teacher with an opportunity to interpret the school to parents, and to help them view their child's achievements in relation to the school's purposes. He singles out such points as physical and emotional status, social adjustment, capacities, attitudes, interests, and progress in subject-matter areas. He draws on samples of work, lists of library books the child has read, and anecdotal records of behavior in social situations whether in the classroom or on the playground, and also, occasionally, on the child's self-appraisal. He tries to give the parents a true picture of their child's attainments and to furnish information that may aid them in guiding the child and cooperating with the teacher.

The following two records of contacts with parents illustrate different reasons for such conferences and methods of carrying on effective home-school relations.

RECORD OF SIX-YEAR-OLD (FIRST GRADE) "J. M."²⁴

Date: November. *Teacher:* Miss X.

Notes: Mrs. M. has been worried about J.'s lack of interest in reading.

"T. said she was glad J. had not buried himself in a book at this stage of his development because he has so many other fine contributions which would be sacrificed if he narrowed his interests. He will learn to read without difficulty when he once begins. An outstanding characteristic of J. is his imaginative ability. He tells most original and consistent stories which are full of choice phrases and dramatic appeal.

"J. is very direct and straightforward—admits his mistakes with sincerity and apparently profits almost immediately from the error."

Date: February

Mrs. M. came to inquire about J.'s reading.

"T. reported that J.'s wide range of interests kept him from driving ahead in reading. There was value of preserving those interests. However, J. is beginning to want to read."

Date: June

"T. reported to Mr. and Mrs. M. that J. has passed his reading tests. His writing has improved—general ability is very good, and his interests are appreciated by the group."

This brief record tells the high points of the parents' contacts during the year, indicates how the teacher reassured the parents, gave them confidence in J.'s ability and helped them to give J. time to develop.

RECORD OF SEVEN-YEAR-OLD (SECOND GRADE) "B. L."

Date: April. *Nature of conference:* At request of mother

Teacher: Miss N.

Notes: Mother wanted to know how B. was getting along. At home she is irritable and does not get to sleep as early as she should.

"Teacher reported no such difficulty at school. Only sign of nervousness this year is the usual biting of nails. She talks a great deal, but that is due to her keen eagerness to be in everything, to know everything and to have friends. On the whole she is much more calm and stable this year—less excitable—interrupts much less.

"B. has more friends this year.

"Takes responsibility quite seriously. Is easily distracted by almost anything even when engaged in something that is important or serious

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

to her, because of her interest in everything and desire to know about everything.

"B. continues to be very capable in thinking and doing. Thinks quickly, independently, with originality. Works accurately, precisely, neatly.

"Loves music—quite responsive to it. Has done creative work in rhythms. Is reading more independently, with better understanding and more pleasure.

"Nearly passed second grade test in March. Has finished arithmetic expected in second grade and has been doing supplementary work to get some problem work. Is working more accurately than when she was trying to get ahead of someone.

"Mother thought camp was very good for B. last summer and hopes to send her again.

"Mother said that the relation between B. and her older brother is better. Brother is more tolerant—more appreciative of her and beginning to be helpful to her.

"B. has been collecting stamps."

This is a record of a single interview between the mother and teacher, both interested in doing their best to guide B. L.'s development. By comparing notes and exchanging information both teacher and mother gained in understanding and ability to help B. L.

CLASSIFICATION AND PROMOTION

Classification in a conventional school follows rigid lines. A child is placed in a given grade because of his achievement in traditional subjects. Sometimes homogeneous grouping, usually on the basis of scholastic ability, prevails.

A modern school uses flexible methods of classification. Pupils shift freely from one group to another within the class according to the nature of the activity. Temporary grouping on the basis of the child's needs, interests, and abilities replaces inflexible sectioning. Children may be with one group for music, another for dramatic play, and still another for reading or arithmetic.

A marked departure in effect in a few schools is intergrade grouping. Howard A. Lane makes the following proposal:

Let us have two grades in the elementary school; *upper* and *lower* might suffice as names for them although I should like to get away from implications of greater worth for either. Children would remain in the lower grade until the ninth birthday. . . .

We shall have four lower grade teachers working as a team with one hundred children, and we can handle more if we must. These teachers will have neighboring rooms and some common facilities and equipment. They will teach with their doors and hearts open to all of the children in that grade. When we first organize this grade the teachers will deal out the children into groups of approximately equal size. They will then make shifts in grouping in terms of individual children and each teacher's suitability for working with certain individuals. They will manipulate the grouping so that the groups will differ in average age, some predominantly older, some younger, but each will include children from the entire age range. This will permit children to be with children predominantly younger or older as his peculiar needs will require. This need is seldom related to mental age or academic skill.

This team of teachers, knowing the children as people, will in consultation make such shifts in grouping as individual and group needs indicate. In these mixed groups children will actually and clearly be different in all aspects of growth and adjustment. In the mixed group no one could expect everyone to achieve even similar goals, do the same lessons, learn from the same books. Yet, most of us discuss each day the United Nations, the blessings and perils of soap and water, the merits of radio programs, the price of butter, the antics of Congress, and other significant topics in social groups that range thirty years or more in age. In this new grade, teachers cannot escape the responsibility for providing opportunities for activities which engage the common interests and permit the participation of individuals with differing interests, resources, and abilities without attendant differences in value and respect.²⁵

Closely akin to classification policies are promotion policies. In light of our present knowledge about child growth and development, the trend is to permit children to progress continuously through all the grades with practically no failure and nonpromotion. Flexible standards replace fixed standards and identical subject matter. Work is adjusted to individual abilities so that pupils can progress regularly.

More than a quarter of a century ago Strayer endorsed the practice of adjusting standards to the abilities of pupils. "Every pupil in the ideal school system is judged by the best which he can do and not by the median performance of a nonselected group." Studies of

²⁵ Howard A. Lane, "Moratorium on Grade Grouping," *Educational Leadership*, March, 1947, pp. 394-395.

repeaters show that the average repeater does little if any better than he did the first time he undertook the particular work.

From the point of view of mental hygiene the no-failure plan yields high dividends. Pupils are spared discouragement and the feeling of hating society that contribute to personal and social maladjustment.

Dr. Val B. Satterfield, psychiatric consultant to the Police Department of St. Louis, discerns a possible relationship between failure and juvenile delinquency. He believes that children should not be graded on their school work. According to him,

"Some children are naturally slow to learn. If a youngster seems a little dull he becomes a target for ridicule. He becomes ashamed. He stops studying.

"He becomes a tough guy and holds 'sissies who study' in contempt. He stays away from school where he has not honor and resorts to breaking the law to gain what he believes is admiration."

THE TEACHER

In the last analysis the quality of modern education depends upon the character and personality of the teacher and upon his knowledge and teaching skill. No longer is he a taskmaster, an assigner of tasks, and a hearer of lessons; instead he is a wise guide who furnishes sympathetic understanding, intelligent direction, and encouragement. As the best-prepared member of the group his influence is constantly felt, but it does not deprive pupils of initiative or activity. To him we could apply Lao-tse's words:

But of a good leader, who talks little,
When his work is done, his aim fulfilled,
They will all say, "We did this ourselves."

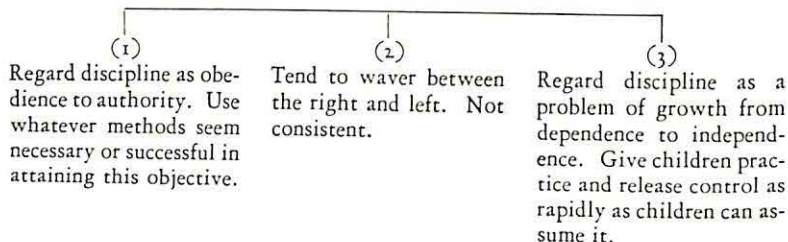
FROM THE OLD TO THE MODERN

In this chapter we have pointed out some differences between elementary schools of yesterday and today. By way of summary, we present the Self-Rating Scale for Teachers prepared by Willard C. Olson.²⁶ "The scale is designed to encourage each person to review the importance of child development concepts on his practice.

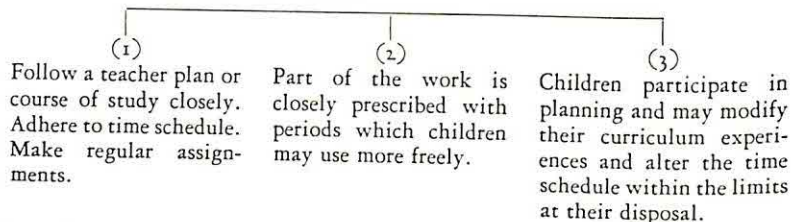
²⁶ Willard C. Olson, *Child Development*, D. C. Heath and Company, 1949, pp. 382-386.

The items on the scale attempt to contrast practices representative of growth from the old to the modern as one proceeds from left to right."

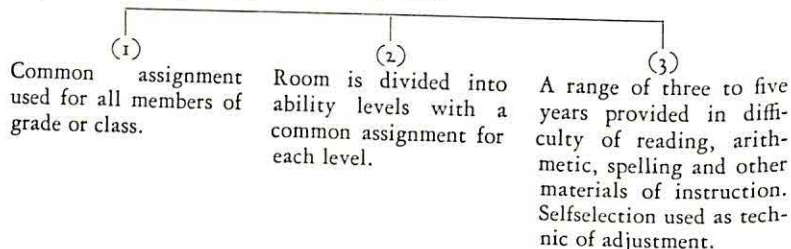
What is your philosophy of discipline?



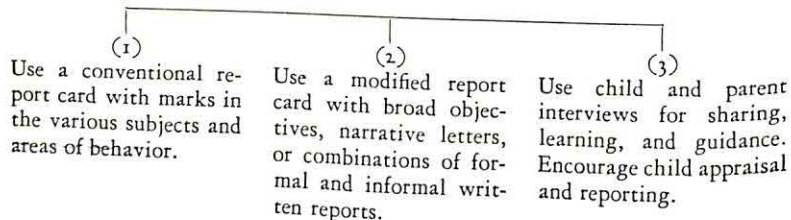
What is the pattern of work in your classroom?



What adjustments to individual differences in growth do you employ in order to avoid frustration and failure with consequent aggression and regression?



How do you report the growth of pupils?



How are classroom and school rules made and enforced?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Made and enforced by teacher or teachers, principal. | Established rules are discussed in class and an appeal made for obedience to them. | Children participate in formulation of guides to conduct and in discussions for improvement of behavior. |

How do you handle individual behavior which seems unacceptable to you or to the group?

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Reprimand. Take away privileges. Tell his parents. Send to principal. Exclude from school. | Appeal to child to be a helpful member of the group. | Try to understand what is back of it. Chat with child. Plan constructive releases. Seek additional professional guidance for serious problems that arise. |

What type of language do you use to control inattention, restlessness, or undesired conduct on the part of pupils?

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| Regularly and frequently use negative and reproofing language: "Don't." "Stop." "You shouldn't." Use recurring blanket commands such as "Be quiet!" | Usually constructive in language used in behavior control. Make some use of negative type of statement. Not a consistent practitioner of either the negative approach or the positive approach. | Attempt to redirect the attention of child by constructive suggestions on what to do, and approval of the desirable: "Do." "Go." Avoid indiscriminate use of blanket statements. |

What expressive therapies are used for release of tensions?

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) |
| A formal program followed requiring sustained attention for long periods. A recess is provided. Technic and product stressed in art education. | Opportunity provided for rest, recreation, and creativity but have not made deliberate use of them as therapy. | Provision made for alternate rest and activity. Releases and expression provided in play, dance, music, art media, drama. |

Are you a student of modern technic for studying and improving group and individual behavior?

(1)	(2)	(3)
Have given no recent study to these problems.	Have heard and read about the newer technics but have not tried them out.	Have studied sociometry, projective technic, social stratification, environmental management, inter-group hostility, and have made some applications in my work.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How can we determine the needs that the elementary school should satisfy? Compare and contrast several statements of the aims of elementary education. Does the modern elementary school meet the basic needs of childhood better than the old-fashioned school did?
2. Why did progressive education start in the elementary rather than in the secondary school?
3. Collect evidence to refute the charges that modern education neglects the fundamentals.
4. Distinguish between resource and teaching units.
5. Invite the director of audio-visual aids in your college to show your class some types of audio-visual materials that can be used in classroom teaching.
6. Secure and evaluate a pupil report card.
7. What should be the basis for promoting pupils in the elementary school? Evaluate the practice of assigning passing marks to almost all the pupils.
8. Visit an elementary classroom. Observe the children at work. Invite the teacher to visit your class and discuss the work that you observed.
9. Prepare a paper on the educational contributions of Francis Parker; of John Dewey.
10. Prepare a report on Marion Nesbitt's *A Public School for Tomorrow* (Harper & Brothers, 1953).
11. Conduct a panel on the question: What are the characteristics of a good elementary school?

Secondary Schools for Today's Youth

MODERN SECONDARY schools have a task of greater complexity and magnitude than our forefathers could have imagined. Theirs is the problem of fitting unprecedented numbers of young people for life in a world transformed by science and technology. Circumstances combine to retain many children who in an earlier period would have dropped out before reaching the secondary level. Technological advances, a crowded labor market, changes in compulsory attendance laws, and public sentiment for a longer period of education have strengthened the holding power of the school. In 1906 a child in the fifth grade had only 14 chances in 100 of being graduated from high school. Today he has 48 chances in 100 of finishing the twelfth grade and receiving a diploma.

Although still catering to a somewhat select group both intellectually and socially, the secondary school tends more and more to give every boy and girl an equal chance regardless of home, racial, community, economic, or social barriers. *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look* underscores this idea:

These youth are created male or female, black or white, halt or hale. Birth and environment have tended to make some of them more alert or more shrewd or more bold than others. Environment and education have made them rich or poor, law abiding or delinquent, employed or idle.

Their names are Dumbrowski, Oleson, Cabot, MacGregor, Veschinni, Adamatoulous, Okada, Chin, Valdez, Descartes, Kerchevsky, Schmidt, Smith, and Smythe.

They reside in farmhouses, cabins, trailers, packing boxes, skyscrapers, tenements, hotels, housing projects, houseboats, dormitories, mansions, prison cells, and just plain houses.¹

¹ National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look*, 1952, p. 29.

In order better to devise a program for all youth with their similarities and differences we seek to know their nature and needs. In the past three or four decades scientific studies have sharpened our knowledge about how young people mature through learning, and have fashioned our concepts of their abilities and requirements.

NEEDS OF YOUTH

Youth have both common and special needs. The former apply to all students growing up in our culture, but the latter apply only to certain students.

COMMON NEEDS

Common needs may be phrased in numerous ways. Three well-known statements are those by Havighurst, the Educational Policies Commission, and the United States Office of Education.

Developmental Tasks. Havighurst labels common needs "developmental tasks." He outlines ten developmental tasks of adolescence:

1. Achieving new and more mature relations with one's age-mates of both sexes.
2. Achieving a masculine or feminine social role.
3. Accepting one's physique and using the body effectively.
4. Achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults.
5. Achieving assurance of economic independence.
6. Selecting and preparing for an occupation.
7. Preparing for marriage and family life.
8. Developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence.
9. Desiring and achieving socially responsible behavior.
10. Acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behavior.²

Imperative Needs of Youth. The Educational Policies Commission identifies ten "imperative needs" of youth:

1. All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life. To this end, most youth need super-

² Robert J. Havighurst, *Human Development and Education*, Longmans, Green and Company, 1953, pp. 111-158.

- vised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations.
2. All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness.
 3. All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.
 4. All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society and the conditions conducive to successful family life.
 5. All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.
 6. All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man.
 7. All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music, and nature.
 8. All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful.
 9. All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work cooperatively with others.
 10. All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding.³

Education for Life Adjustment. The idea of "education for life adjustment" grew out of a conference called by the Office of Education to hear a report entitled "Vocational Education in the Years Ahead." Charles A. Prosser, one of the participants, contended that secondary schools prepared 20 percent of their students for skilled occupations and another 20 percent for college, but neglected "life adjustment training" for the remaining 60 percent. Accordingly he introduced a resolution requesting the Commissioner of Education and the Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education to call conferences, at which there would be an equal number of repre-

³ *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look*, p. 216.

sentatives of vocational and of general education, to consider the problem.

In due time the conferences were held. Their recommendations were presented to a national gathering in Chicago in 1947 which resulted in the creation of a Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth "to promote in every manner possible ways, means, and devices for improving the life adjustment education of secondary school youth." Since then state departments of education have assumed leadership in spreading the Commission's ideas.

To the question, What is life adjustment education? the Commission replied:

It is concerned with ethical and moral living and with physical, mental, and emotional health.

It recognizes the importance of fundamental skills since citizens in a democracy must be able to compute, to read, to write, to listen, and to speak effectively. It emphasizes skills as tools for further achievements.

It is concerned with the development of wholesome recreational interests of both an individual and social nature.

It is concerned with the present problems of youth as well as with their preparation for future living.

It is for all American youth and offers them learning experiences appropriate to their capacities.

It recognizes the importance of personal satisfactions and achievements for each individual within the limits of his abilities.

It respects the dignity of work and recognizes the educational values of responsible work experience in the life of the community.

It provides both general and specialized education but, even in the former, common goals are to be attained through differentiation both as to subject matter and experience.

It has many patterns. For a school, a class, or a pupil it is an individual matter. The same pattern should not be adopted in one community merely because it was effective in another. It must make sense in each community in terms of the goals which are set and the resources which are available.

It emphasizes deferred as well as immediate values. For each individual it keeps an open road and stimulates the maximum achievement of which he is capable.

It recognizes that many events of importance happened a long time ago but holds that the real significance of these events is in their bearing upon life of today.

It emphasizes active and creative achievements as well as adjustment to existing conditions; it places a high premium upon learning to make wise choices, since the very concept of American democracy demands the appropriate revising of aims and the means of attaining them.

It is education fashioned to achieve desired outcomes in terms of character and behavior. It is not education which follows convention for its own sake or holds any aspect of the school as an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

Above all, it recognizes the inherent dignity of the human personality.⁴

SPECIAL NEEDS

Besides common needs, students also have special needs, interests, and desires which arise from differences in intelligence and aptitudes, occupational outlook, and avocational preferences. No sharp line can be drawn between ways in which the secondary school meets special and common needs. A given curricular offering or specialized service may satisfy a common concern for some students and a special one for others.

GOALS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Analysis of the needs of youth furnishes a starting point for formulating the goals of secondary education. A pronouncement such as the ten "imperative needs" is often taken as an adequate statement of aims.

However, as in the case of the elementary school, the demands of society as well as concerns of the learner have to be recognized. Several decades ago Thomas H. Briggs with clear discernment observed that education should be conceived of as "a long term investment by the state, to make itself a better place in which to live and in which to make a living, to perpetuate itself, and promote its own interests." The secondary school has a responsibility for preserving our culture by transmitting skills, knowledge, ideals, attitudes, and values which supply the capital of human experience. It has a further obligation of helping modify the culture by preparing young people to be capable of passing sound judgment and

⁴ Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, *Vitalizing Secondary Education*, Bulletin 1951, No. 3, 1951, pp. 32-33.

working out desirable improvements. Any acceptable statement of aims should take these responsibilities into account.

THE CURRICULUM

Once the goals of secondary education are formulated, they must find expression through activities which make up the total curriculum.

SUBJECT-CENTERED CURRICULUM

Traditionally the curriculum has been subject-centered, planned in terms of knowledge set up in advance, with stress on the subjects that would satisfy admission to college. The report of the Committee of Ten of the National Education Association helped retain emphasis on college preparatory subjects. In spite of its statement that secondary schools "do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges," the Committee nevertheless gave its hearty endorsement of subjects that met long established college entrance requirements. Its list included Latin, Greek, English, German, French, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, astronomy, natural history, and general history.

Furthermore, use of the Carnegie unit as a device for counting credits has discouraged tampering with traditional school practices. According to this plan, credit is given on the basis of hours of class work successfully completed. One credit requires 120 hours of class work in subjects calling for outside preparation. Additional classes or lengthened periods are arranged for material demanding little or no preparation. Although the Carnegie unit proved satisfactory when high schools were almost exclusively college preparatory institutions, its use today calls for reëvaluation.

The Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association, inaugurated in 1933 and completed in 1941, attempted to ascertain if secondary schools can adapt the curriculum to students' present and future lives, and their differing personal requirements, without handicapping those who continue their study in college.

The experiment involved 1475 pairs of matched students, half of whom had attended experimental schools; the other half had gone to conventional schools. Graduates of the thirty experimental

schools went to coöperating colleges on recommendation of high-school principals, regardless of the pattern of subjects they had pursued.

Those in charge of the experiment concluded that students from the experimental schools attained greater success in college than the students from standard schools. There was no discoverable relationship between patterns of high-school subjects and success in college.

Graduates of the thirty experimental schools had the following record:

1. earned a slightly higher total grade average;
2. earned higher grade averages in all subject fields except foreign language;
3. specialized in the same academic fields as did the comparison students;
4. did not differ from the comparison group in the number of times they were placed on probation;
5. received slightly more academic honors in each year;
6. were more often judged to possess a high degree of intellectual curiosity and drive;
7. were more often judged to be precise, systematic, and objective in their thinking;
8. were more often judged to have developed clear or well-formulated ideas concerning the meaning of education—especially in the first two years in college;
9. more often demonstrated a high degree of resourcefulness in meeting new situations;
10. did not differ from the comparison group in ability to plan their time effectively;
11. had about the same problems of adjustment as the comparison group, but approached their solution with greater effectiveness;
12. participated somewhat more frequently, and more often enjoyed appreciative experiences, in the arts;
13. participated more in all organized student groups except religious and "service" activities;
14. earned in each college year a higher percentage of non-academic honors (officership in organizations, election to managerial societies, athletic insignia, leading roles in dramatic and musical presentations);
15. did not differ from the comparison group in the quality of adjustment to their contemporaries;

16. differed only slightly from the comparison group in the kinds of judgments about their schooling;
17. had a somewhat better orientation toward the choice of a vocation;
18. demonstrated a more active concern for what was going on in the world.⁵

Although critics of the study point out flaws in the techniques employed and consider the evidence inconclusive, the experiment, together with subsequent ones, has caused some colleges to modify their entrance requirements. Secondary schools are given increased freedom to depart from conventional patterns of content and organization and to offer whatever experiences are most valuable for their students.

In spite of enthusiasm in many quarters in the past two decades for curriculum reorganization, the majority of secondary schools have clung tenaciously to "tried and true" patterns. Only a few have abandoned conventional subject-centered programs.

A study of trends in enrollment in high-school subjects from 1934 to 1949 showed some tendency toward fusion.⁶ In science, biology gained ground at the expense of zoology and botany, as did also general science at the expense of more specific divisions of science. General mathematics expanded at the expense of algebra and geometry.

In general, though, the changing trends were evident mainly in the enrollment in subject-matter fields and the introduction of new subjects. Changes took the direction of more "functional" education to serve a heterogeneous group of pupils. Enrollments in mathematics and foreign languages decreased. Art and business education subjects held their own. Percentage enrollments in all other broad subject fields increased. The largest enrollments were in health, safety, physical education, English, and social studies—subjects required in most states. Of the broad subject fields home economics and industrial arts had the largest percentage increases in enrollment.

Among individual subjects physical education, typing, general

⁵ Wilford M. Aikin, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*, Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 111-112.

⁶ Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1948-50, 1951*, pp. 26-29.

mathematics (including arithmetic), and United States history had the highest percentage increase in enrollments, and Latin and French had the greatest percentage decreases. In 1949 for the first time more students studied Spanish than Latin. A few subjects—English history, industrial history, nature study, the novel, and the short story—were disappearing.

Some subjects, reported for the first time in 1949, were taught in as many as fifteen states. They included conservation, consumer buying, safety education, driver education, home management, fundamentals of electricity, remedial English, mathematics review, radio speaking and broadcasting, vocational radio, diversified occupations, and coöperative office training.

CORE CURRICULUM

Here and there secondary schools are trying out plans for a more meaningful general education than that furnished by a subject-centered curriculum. To some of these innovations the term core curriculum is applied. The appellation, however, has a bewildering variety of meanings. Alberty explains it in this way: "The term is applied in some fashion to *all or part* of the total curriculum which is required of all students at a given level. In other words, the core is used to designate all or part of the program of general education."⁷ Obviously, then, some core programs represent no break with tradition, whereas others show striking departures.

Alberty presents six designs for the core in order of their deviation from conventional curriculum organization:

1. The core consists of a number of logically organized subjects or fields of knowledge each of which is taught independently.

Example: English, world history, and general science are required at the ninth-grade level. They are taught without any systematic attempt to show relationships.

2. The core consists of a number of logically organized subjects or fields of knowledge, some or all of which are correlated.

Example: American history and American literature are required of all twelfth-grade students. When the history teacher is dealing

⁷ National Society for the Study of Education, *Adapting the Secondary School Program to the Needs of Youth*, Fifty-Second Yearbook, 1953, Part I, p. 119. This and other excerpts are quoted by permission of the Society.

with the Civil War, the English teacher introduces the literature of that period.

3. The core consists of broad problems, units of work, or unifying themes which are chosen because they afford the means of teaching effectively the basic content of certain subjects or fields of knowledge. These subjects or fields retain their identity, but the content is selected and taught with special reference to the unit, theme, or problem.

Example: "Living in the Community" is selected as a unit of work for the tenth grade. The unit is then organized in terms of such subjects as science, art, and social studies and may be taught by specialists or by one teacher.

4. The core consists of a number of subjects or fields of knowledge which are unified or fused. Usually one subject or field (e.g., history) serves as the unifying center.

Example: American history and American literature in the eleventh grade are unified through a series of epochs, such as "The Colonial Period," "The Westward Movement," "The Industrial Revolution." The unification may be extended to include other fields, such as the arts, science, and mathematics.

5. The core consists of broad, preplanned problem areas, from which are selected learning experiences in terms of the psychobiological and societal needs, problems, and interests of students.

Example: A unit on "Healthful Living," in the twelfth grade, stresses the health problems of the group and how they are related to the immediate and wider community. The unit is teacher-student planned, but in terms of a basic curriculum structure.

6. The core consists of broad units of work, or activities, planned by the teacher and the students in terms of needs as perceived by the group. No basic curriculum structure is set up.

Example: An eighth-grade group, under guidance of the teacher, decides to landscape the school grounds. The activity meets criteria decided upon by the group.⁸

Alberty evaluates strengths and weaknesses of each of the six plans. We include his list of strengths and weaknesses of Nos. 1 and 5. Because Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 are essentially subject-centered, points that apply to No. 1 apply also to the other three plans. Since Nos. 5 and 6 have many similar characteristics, their strengths and weaknesses are substantially identical.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

His evaluation of No. 1 follows:

Strengths. Many claims are made for the separate-subject design. Among them are the following:

1. Systematic organization of knowledge is essential to the effective interpretation of experience.
2. The organization of a program based on separate subjects is simple and easily understood by teachers, students, and laymen.
3. The program is easily changed, since subjects may be added, dropped, or revised without disturbing the general pattern.
4. The program is easily evaluated by means of standardized tests which have been developed in all or nearly all of the subject fields.
5. Such programs are generally approved by the colleges since college-entrance requirements are usually based upon subjects.
6. Such programs are generally approved by teachers and laymen, since they represent the pattern in general use in high schools, colleges, and universities.

Weaknesses. Since the separate-subject program has been under attack for many years, many weaknesses have been pointed out. Among them are the following:

1. Such programs are far removed from the common needs of adolescents as defined in this yearbook. All programs are defended by those who advocate them on the basis of meeting "needs," but, in the case of this type of design, needs are defined in terms of logical systems of subject matter. "Needs" are presumed to be met through the mastery of these systems of knowledge. Therefore, needs are derived from an analysis of knowledge rather than from an analysis of the student. It is not to be denied that the skilful teacher may meet many of the psychobiological needs proposed in this yearbook, but the acquisition of bodies of subject matter must necessarily be the primary consideration.
2. Such programs perpetuate the evils of specialism which long have been the concern of educators. The general-education program turns out to be largely a miscellaneous and unrelated collection of specialized bodies of knowledge. The Harvard Committee states the situation succinctly in the following passage:

"The impact of specialism has been felt not only in those phases of education which are necessarily and rightly specialistic; it has affected the whole structure of higher and even of secondary education. Teachers, themselves products of highly technical disciplines, tend to

reproduce their knowledge in class. The result is that each subject, being taught by an expert, tends to be so presented as to attract potential experts. This complaint is perhaps more keenly felt in colleges and universities, which naturally look to scholarship. The undergraduate in a college receives his teaching from professors who, in their turn, have been trained in graduate schools, and the latter are dominated by the ideal of specialization. Learning is now diversified and parcelled into a myriad of specialties."

3. The separate-subject design of general education is psychologically unsound. There is a wide gap between the experience of the student and the logically formulated experience of the race. While logical relationships are essential in the organization of experience, they cannot be imparted ready-made to the student. Dewey pointed this out many years ago in the following often-quoted passage:

"Facts are torn away from their original place in experience and rearranged with reference to some principle. Classification is not a matter of child experience; things do not come pigeonholed. The vital ties of affection, the connecting bonds of activity, hold together the variety of his personal experiences. The adult mind is so familiar with the notion of logically ordered facts that it does not recognize—it cannot realize—the amount of separating and reformulating which the facts of direct experience have to undergo before they can appear as a 'study,' or branch of learning. A principle, for the intellect, has had to be distinguished and defined. Facts have had to be interpreted in relation to this principle, not as they are in themselves. They have had to be regathered about a new center which is wholly abstract and ideal. . . . The studies as classified are the product, in a word, of the science of the ages, not of the experience of the child."⁹

The evaluation of No. 5 follows:

Strengths

1. Such a program makes possible a direct attack upon the needs of youth and the problems which beset them in our present-day culture. The traditional program is based upon the assumption that once young people have gained some degree of mastery of the so-called fundamental subjects—English, history, science, and mathematics—they will then be able to cope successfully with their problems. The program under discussion reverses the process. Common problems of youth are identified;

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

they are studied intensively, drawing upon appropriate subject matter, and solutions are reached through individual and group thinking. The so-called fundamentals are learned functionally, and there is usually plenty of evidence that this learning is effective.

2. Such a program is the means of bridging the gap between education and guidance, between the curriculum and the extracurriculum, between general education and special-interest education. Homeroom activities and individual and group guidance become an integral part of the educative process as the teacher and students go about the solving of problems. Likewise, many of the informal student activities, such as class projects, school business, clubs, and organizations are absorbed in the block of time devoted to the core or the general-education phase of the instructional program. Special interests of students are cultivated in the core up to the point where laboratories and studios and specialized instruction are needed.

3. The problem-areas design tends to break down the class barriers which so frequently are maintained in the traditional program. The use of the broad, comprehensive units of work makes possible provision for individual differences in abilities and in rates of learning, thus obviating the necessity for sectioning, or ability grouping. Moreover, students of all social and economic levels work together in the solving of common problems, thus exemplifying democratic living at its best.

4. It facilitates the unification of knowledge. Subjects are no longer taught in water-tight compartments. Problems of living refuse to be strait-jacketed into logically organized systems of knowledge. Inter-relationships among subjects and fields are established as the various disciplines are drawn upon as needed.

5. Such a program is consistent with the newer theories of learning and transfer. For the most part, traditional instruction is based upon the atomistic approach to learning. On the other hand, the core, with its emphasis upon broad comprehensive units of work and vital problems of living, stresses the organismic approach. Transfer of training takes place through the enrichment of meanings and their use in a wide variety of life situations.

6. A program of this type encourages the teaching staff to plan and work together. In the compartmentalized program of general education, each teacher works more or less in isolation from his fellows. The English teachers have no need to co-operate with the social studies or science teachers. Each group plans its own program out of relationship with the others. Such situations cannot exist in the type of program which we are considering. Teachers of *all* areas have contributions to make,

and they have a stake in the outcome. If it is to be successful, such contributions must be elicited and utilized. Thus, the teaching staff must work together as a whole.

7. The procedures of this program encourage the use of democratic practices in the classroom. The subject-centered program, with its fixed quotas of subject matter to be mastered is not conducive to teacher-student planning. Really there is little about which to plan! The problem-centered approach changes the scene completely. The student has a role in identifying problems, in planning the attacks upon them, and in evaluating the effectiveness of the work. These practices are the essence of the democratic process.

8. The study of problem areas encourages the use of the community as a laboratory for learning. The common problems of youth grow out of the interaction of the student and his immediate and wider environment. They do not exist "under the skin" of the individual. Problems of home and family living, for example, cannot be isolated from the environmental conditions surrounding the home. Thus, the classroom takes on the character of a meeting place for planning the attack on the problems. The activities of the students, as they go about discovering pertinent data, are bound to take the class out into the community. Incidentally, the larger block of time set aside for the core makes such community exploration possible without encroaching upon the time allotted to other school activities.

9. Such a program makes it possible for teachers to reduce materially the student loads which they are required to carry in a traditional program. Loads of 175 students per day are not uncommon. Obviously the teacher who carries two core groups of three periods each would have only one-third as many different students per day as the teacher who handles six separate classes. The core organization, in cutting down the student load, makes it possible for teachers to know students more intimately and hence to guide them more effectively.

Weaknesses

1. The program requires a vast amount of work on the part of teachers and as a consequence many groups are unwilling to undertake such a drastic reorganization.

2. There is danger that the scope and sequence may become "frozen" and thus fail to meet the changing needs of youth.

3. Teachers are not well equipped through training to carry out such a program. Consequently they may feel insecure and defensive.

4. The public may be slow to accept a program which breaks so completely with the familiar subjects.¹⁰

Even a fairly conservative type of reorganization, represented by No. 4, has won a place in scarcely a handful of schools. In a study conducted by the Office of Education in 1949, high-school principals were asked to report as core those courses which "involve the combination of two or more class periods for subjects that would ordinarily be taught separately."¹¹ Only 3.5 percent, or an estimated 833 of the approximately 24,000 high schools covered, followed this practice. It was used more frequently in junior and undivided high schools than in regular and senior high schools. Eighty-six percent of all core programs were in the three junior-high-school grades, and usually in not more than one or two of these grades. In junior high schools about 12 percent of the pupils were in core classes, whereas in public secondary schools the figure was less than 4 percent.

More than nine-tenths of the programs merely combined English and social studies in a double period. Sometimes science or mathematics was added. Instruction in health, music, art, and group guidance was often correlated with problems studied in the core.

The persistence with which secondary schools have retained subject-centered education programs and rejected general programs may be attributed to several forces. In the first place, teachers and administrators tend to feel secure with the traditional curriculum. Undoubtedly, many of them still have faith in the theory of formal discipline and concur with Mr. Dooley's remark: "But I believe 'tis as Father Kelly says: 'Childher shuddn't be sint to school to larn, but to larn how to larn. I don't care what ye larn thim so long as 'tis onpleasant to thim.'" Second, teacher-education institutions have not made much progress in preparing teachers for core programs. Students are required to build up majors and minors in specialized courses. State certification requirements stated in terms of credits in subjects and fields of knowledge perpetuate the practice of compartmentalizing knowledge. Third, college entrance requirements

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

¹¹ Grace S. Wright, *Core Curriculum in Public High Schools*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1950, No. 5, 1950, p. 32.

continue to be defined in terms of Carnegie units. However, many colleges are shifting the emphasis from subject pattern to the predicted ability and success of the student. Fourth, many school officials are afraid to embark on new ventures when schools are so frequently victims of unwarranted attacks by pressure groups. They know full well that charges of subversion spring not from teaching the binomial theorem and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* but from dealing with controversial social-economic issues.

There are, however, observable trends which augur well for progress in curriculum reorganization. First, institutions of higher learning are reorganizing their programs of general education. Eventually the modifications will affect procedures in high schools. Second, some teacher-education institutions are exploring ways of preparing teachers to capitalize on the needs of students. Third, results of curriculum experimentation in a few key schools are beginning to bear fruit. Fourth, laymen are taking part in curriculum planning. Their understanding and approval of innovations will remove obstacles that often impede progress.

EDUCATION IN AMERICAN CITY

Two publications prepared by the Educational Policies Commission publicize types of core curriculums that represent marked departures from traditional practice. *Education for All American Youth* and *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look* describe a pattern of education from junior high school through junior college. Activities in schools in hypothetical Farmville and American City may be modified to serve as a basis for the reorganization of schools possible in the third quarter of the twentieth century.

In American City the curriculum of each school embraces four divisions of learning: Individual Interests; Vocational Preparation; Common Learnings; and Health and Physical Education. In addition, in the tenth grade there is a science course closely related to the course in common learnings. The first two divisions are known as the "area of common studies," since all students follow the same general program.

Figure 14,¹² which represents major areas of the curriculum in American City, shows how a student divides his time from the tenth

¹² *Education for All American Youth—A Further Look*, p. 233.

to the fourteenth year. Vocational preparation claims one-sixth of his time in Grade X, one-third in Grades XI and XII, and one-half in community college. Common learnings occupies one-third of his time in each year of high school and one-sixth in community college. Science takes one-sixth of his time in Grade X, and health and

		HIGH SCHOOL			COMMUNITY COLLEGE		
Grades		X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	
Periods per day (average for the year)	1	<u>Individual Interests</u> (Elected by the student, under guidance, in fields of avocational, cultural, or intellectual interest.)					*
	2	<u>Vocational Preparation</u> (Includes education for industrial, commercial, homemaking, service, and other occupations leading to employment, apprenticeship, or homemaking at the end of Grade XII, XIII, or XIV; education for technical and semiprofessional occupations in community college; and the study of sciences, mathematics, social studies, literature, and foreign languages in preparation for advanced study in community college, four-year college, or university. May include a period of productive work under employment conditions, supervised by the school staff. Related to the study of economics and industrial and labor relations in "Common Learnings.")					
	3	<u>Science</u> (Methods, principles, and facts needed by all students.)					
	4	<u>Common Learnings</u> (A continuous course for all, planned to help students grow in competence as citizens of the community and the nation; in understanding of economic processes and of their roles as producers and consumers; in living together in family, school, and community; in appreciation of literature and the arts; and in use of the English language. Guidance of individual students is a chief responsibility of "Common Learnings" teachers.)					**
	5						
	6	<u>Health and Physical Education</u> (Includes instruction in personal health and hygiene; health examinations and follow-up; games, sports, and other activities to promote physical fitness. Related to study of community health in "Common Learnings.")					

* Broken line indicates flexibility of scheduling.

** Heavy line marks the division between "differential studies" (above) and "common studies" (below).

FIGURE 14. Major Areas of the Curriculum in American City.

physical education and individual interests each receive one-sixth.

The common learnings course, continuous from Grades X to XIV inclusive, is "designed to provide most of the learning experiences which, it is believed, all young people should have *in common* in order to live happily and usefully during the years of youth and grow into the full responsibilities of adult life." The distinctive purposes are to help all young people grow in six areas:

1. Civic responsibility and competence.
2. Understanding of the operation of the economic system and of the human relations involved therein.
3. Family relationships.
4. Intelligent action as consumers.
5. Appreciation of beauty.
6. Proficiency in the use of language.¹³

To these should be added other purposes which are looked upon as aims for every course and teacher in American City schools. These aims are to help youth grow in the following ways:

1. In ability to think rationally and in respect for truth arrived at by rational processes.
2. In respect for other persons and ability to work cooperatively with others.
3. In insight into ethical values and principles.
4. In ability to use their time efficiently and to budget it wisely.
5. In ability to plan their own affairs, as individuals and as groups, and to carry out their plans efficiently.¹⁴

Here is a description of a course in common learnings, for the tenth grade in American City:

"Common Learnings 10" is the first unit in a course that extends through the three years of high school and the two years of community college. It meets for two periods daily, and is required of all tenth-graders in school.

What does this title, "Common Learnings," mean? It means that this course consists of learning experiences which *everyone* needs to have, regardless of what occupation he may expect to follow or where he may happen to live.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Getting the Most from High School

A part of your time during the first week or two will be used to help you learn to feel at home in high school and to find out how to get around and what to do. You will be taken on a tour of the building to see all the school's facilities. You will talk about what is in store for you here, both in classes and in other activities. You will also visit the community college to see what the school system has to offer those who continue beyond high school. All this will take only a few hours, but it may save you many costly mistakes.

You will study the matter of using your time efficiently. We all have exactly the same amount of time—twenty-four hours a day. But we differ greatly in the ways we use our time and in our abilities to use it well. A little time spent now in studying the use of your time may save you a great deal of time in the long run.

You will take some tests—tests of your speed of reading, of your understanding of what you read and what you hear, of your ability to express your thoughts orally and in writing, of your mathematical abilities, and of your habits of studying. Don't be frightened by that array of tests. For their one and only purpose is to find out whether you need any help in language or mathematics or in your study habits. If you do, your teachers will see that you get that help promptly.

In class, you will read and discuss what psychologists have to say that might help you to improve your own methods of studying, reading, and listening. You will also talk about planning and budgeting the use of your time—and practice it, too.

American City at Work

Along with these studies of your school and your use of time goes a third which may require eight or ten weeks. It is called "American City at Work," though it might be "Planning One's Work in the World." Here you will become acquainted with what people in American City do to earn a living. You will visit stores, factories, offices, the new airport, and other places where people work. You will see motion pictures which will help you to understand the many different jobs that have to be done in a factory, a department store, a hospital, or a railroad terminal. You will listen to talks by employers and workers and teachers in various vocational fields. You will read about occupations, and find out which fields offer the most openings nowadays and which are overcrowded. You will learn about the work of the public employment service, the occupational research bureau, and the occupational planning council.

At the same time, with the help of your teacher, you will be learning more about your own abilities and aptitudes, and checking these against the requirements of the occupations in which you are interested. Perhaps you have already decided what occupation you want to follow; or maybe you haven't. This study should be helpful to you in either case.

Finally, you will try to fit these industries and businesses and other occupations together into what we call an economic system and see how the various parts depend on one another and how the system operates as a whole. You will have to come back to that again and again in later grades, but you will make a good beginning in tenth grade.

That is as far as "Common Learnings 10" is planned and scheduled in advance. As for the rest, you will be given the general purposes of the course and the areas within which you will be expected to work. Within these limits, your teacher, your classmates, and you will decide on the topics and problems which you will study and the order in which you will take them up.

Now, about these purposes and areas of work for tenth grade. We have already told you about two of them. One is to help you to make the most of your years in high school; to make wise choices of courses and activities; to study, read, and listen efficiently. And the second, as we have just seen, is to make you acquainted with American City at work and to help you on your way to finding a useful place in the world of work.

Civic Competence

A third and very important purpose of this course is to help you grow in knowledge of your city and in usefulness as a citizen. In order to be a good citizen in these times, you have to know a great deal about the world you are living in. That part of the world which you can see face to face and reach out and touch is American City; and here, we think, is the place to begin.

The study of American City will not be new to you. You have already made some studies of your neighborhood in junior high school. Now you will move on to the city as a whole and to more difficult matters. You will begin, of course, with the study of the city at work. What you do after that will be decided by your class and your teacher.

Here, by way of examples, are a few other studies of American City life which tenth-grade classes have made with profit.

Voluntary service organizations and what they do for the people of American City—Agencies for youth service, child welfare, education, recreation, care for the aged, aid to poor, civic improvement, and cul-

tural advancement. This might well be related to the question of use of time. Your study might result in a decision to become a member of one of the youth agencies or to give some of your time regularly to service in some agency.

American City at play—A study of recreational facilities and opportunities together with needs and problems. This also might be related to the question of use of time and to your classwork in physical education.

Housing in relation to family life—This study would consider such questions as: What are the most important things a family can do for its members in the city life of our times? What sort of housing facilities are needed in order to enable a family to do these things well? What other conditions? How well are the housing accommodations and other conditions in American City today suited to desirable family life?

Community health conditions and needs—Such a study might be a joint project of classes in "Common Learnings" and classes in health.

City planning of residential neighborhoods—Such a study would introduce you to the work of the city planning commission. It could be closely related to the study of family life and housing, and to the tenth-grade science course, too.

Consumer Economics

The fourth area we call "consumer economics." What we mean is this: Every day you are a consumer of goods and services—of food, clothing, recreation, education, and many others. Now:

Do you know what you are getting for your money, or for your father's money, or for the tax money that is being spent on you?

Are you "getting your money's worth"? How do you know whether you are or not? And how *can* you know?

How does one determine what is a fair price for a product or a fair charge for services?

Does it make any difference in the long run whether you spend your money for product A or product B? Whether you buy from merchant X or merchant Y?

These are some of the questions you encounter very quickly when you start studying consumers' problems—as you will study them somewhere in the "Common Learnings" course.

Family Life

A fifth area is "Family Life." Do you know that your experiences in your home have probably had more influence on your personality than all the other experiences of your life? Too often we assume that we

know how to be good members of families without giving the matter any thought. Indeed, there are many people who have spent years in getting ready for jobs in factories or stores and who will rush into the far more important and more difficult job of making a home without any preparation whatever. In the course in "Common Learnings," you can learn a great deal about the conditions of successful family life, which will help you to be a better member of your family, both now and later.

The Use of the English Language

Sixth and last is the area of growth in ability to use the English language. Whatever your future career may be, you can have no more important assets than the ability to express your thoughts clearly in spoken and written English and the ability to understand the spoken and written words of others. The engineer and the physician need these abilities as well as the lawyer and the minister. The factory laborer needs them in his work and when he goes into his union meeting. The military man needs them in order to give or receive instructions. In "Common Learnings" you will be listening, reading, speaking, and writing every day, and instruction and practice in English will be a part of your regular work.¹⁵

CORE COURSE IN ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY

Teachers in Elizabeth, New Jersey, look upon the problem-solving method as the heart of the core curriculum. Steps in problem solving are pointed out in a description of this course in action;¹⁶ this may be summarized as follows:

First the students define the problem precisely. If the unit is on television they raise such questions as "How does television affect my life at home, in school, with my friends? How can we judge the difference between good and poor television shows?"

Once the problem is defined, the students seek a solution which may lead to some action or decision. Then they plan the project cooperatively and choose appropriate methods of attack, such as library reference work, interviews, field trips, or a selected combination of many sources of information. Next the class is formed into groups for the undertaking; it may function as a unit or through com-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 240-244.

¹⁶ Leon Ovsiew, et al., *Making the Core Work*, Metropolitan School Study Council, 1951, pp. 41-48.

mittees. Occasionally students work alone on specific tasks, but often a combination of groups is used.

After information has been gathered and organized, each group reports to the entire class. Each student is held responsible for the information presented.

"If a problem has been defined, studied and solved to the satisfaction of the student and the teacher—if greater maturity of action or decision has been gained—the major objectives of learning have been achieved. If, in addition, a body of functional information and growth in skills of all kinds have also been achieved, then the education of children has been measurably advanced."

EXTRACLASST ACTIVITIES

For years secondary schools have had under their jurisdiction both class and extraclass programs. The term extraclass is used here to denote activities organized outside the regular schedule of courses and variously known as extracurricular, co-curricular, allied, and class-related. Now that the curriculum is defined as including all experiences under the direction of the school there can, strictly speaking, be no extracurricular undertakings.

When they originated, however, extraclass activities were separate from the regular work of the school. They were discouraged and even suppressed. At first interscholastic athletics held the center of the stage. Nonathletic organizations included dramatics, debate, and music. After 1910 outside projects gained momentum and won acceptance as a necessary evil. A decade later they were recognized, at least theoretically, as an integral part of the school program.

Scores of activities have been organized so that students may have considerable freedom of choice. *Evaluative Criteria*, the manual prepared by the Cooperative Study of Secondary-School Standards, lists ten categories,¹⁷ each of which covers a multiplicity of forms of activity.

1. Pupil participation in school government.
2. Homerooms.
3. The school assembly.

¹⁷ Cooperative Study of Secondary-School Standards, *Evaluative Criteria*, The George Banta Publishing Company, 1950, p. 191.

4. School publications.
5. Music activities.
6. Dramatic and speech activities.
7. Social life and activities.
8. Physical activities for boys.
9. Physical activities for girls.
10. School clubs.

Extraclass activities have a wealth of potential values. As seen through the eyes of 3525 students, the values rated highest were as follows: These activities developed new friendships, created added interest in school, taught how to win and lose in a sportsmanlike manner, engendered greater loyalty to the school, furnished worthwhile leisure-time pursuits, resulted in more friendly relations with teachers, increased willingness to accept criticism, and gave valuable information that would not have been obtained in a regular course.¹⁸

If they are to fulfill their purposes, extraclass activities must be properly supervised and soundly administered. Although final responsibility for their conduct and success devolves upon the principal, both the staff and the student body should coöperate in determining major policies. Details of administration must be delegated to various persons. Each activity should be sponsored by a well-qualified teacher.

Of the numberless problems related to directing activities we shall mention only two: participation and cost.

"The principle of extraclass activities for *all* pupils does not necessarily imply that all pupils participate, but rather that all pupils have the opportunity to participate and are encouraged to do so."¹⁹ Participation of 85 percent or more of the student body is excellent, but 70 percent or less is a hazard to the entire program of such activities.

In order for a high school to have adequate information about student participation, answers to the following questions are essential:²⁰

¹⁸ J. Lloyd Trump, *High School Extra-curriculum Activities*, University of Chicago Press, 1944, pp. 111-123.

¹⁹ Ellsworth Tompkins, *Extraclass Activities for All Pupils*, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, Bulletin 1950, No. 4, 1950, p. 24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-27.

DATA NEEDED REGARDING PUPIL PARTICIPATION

Questions	Nonathletic		Intramural		Athletic	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. How many pupils participate in one extraclass activity?						
2. How many participate in two activities?						
3. How many participate in more than two?						
4. How many do not participate in any extraclass activity?						
5. How does participation by grade compare?						
12th						
11th						
10th						
9th						
8th						
7th						
6. How does participation by sex compare?						
Boys						
Girls						

DATA REGARDING FACULTY PARTICIPATION

Questions	Nonathletic		Intramural		Athletic	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. How many staff members sponsor one activity?						
2. How many staff members sponsor two activities?						
3. How many staff members sponsor more than two?						
4. How many staff members do not sponsor an activity?						

DATA REGARDING SCHOOL POLICY

1. Have pupils been surveyed for preferences regarding extraclass activities during the last full school year? If they have, how do their preferences compare with the present offering of extraclass activities?
2. What is the policy regarding released teaching time for teachers sponsoring "heavy" pupil activities?
3. What is the policy regarding extra pay for teachers serving as sponsors, coaches, or faculty advisers of "heavy" pupil activities?
4. How much average time per week does the staff member (principal, coordinator, director) responsible for the coordination of pupil activities devote to his duties?

Some schools try to control minimum and maximum participation by requiring all their students to take part in at least one activity and by limiting the number of activities which a student may enter. Most schools, however, prefer to depend upon counseling rather than regulations to take care of the matter.

Tied up with the problem of participation in activities is the question of costs. Students from economically underprivileged families can ill afford to have any share in extraclass undertakings. The 1947-1948 Participation in Extra-Class Activities Study sponsored by the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program revealed that in seventy-nine representative Illinois secondary schools the cost of participating in activities was often high.²¹ More than one-tenth of the schools required a membership fee that ranged from a low of 40 cents to a high of \$16.70 per student. In one-fourth of these schools the fee was in excess of \$10 per student. About two-fifths of the schools studied charged class dues in Grade IX and above. Dues ranged up to \$5, with a median of \$1 per school year in Grades XI and XII. Students who represented their schools in athletics were burdened with "hidden tuition" charges. Median costs at the senior high-school level were: baseball—\$12.25; basketball—\$2.80; football—\$2.10; golf—\$50; swimming—\$1.50; tennis—\$15; track—\$2.70; wrestling—\$1.

Some other median costs at the senior high-school level follow: band—\$3.50; orchestra—\$2.25; pep or cheer clubs—\$3.50; attendance

²¹ Harold C. Hand, *Principal Findings of the 1947-1948 Basic Studies of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program*, Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Bulletin No. 2, May, 1949, pp. 23-64.

at home basketball and football games—\$2.50 and \$1.40 respectively; yearbook—\$2.25; and newspaper—\$1. The median cost of all school dances for which a student was eligible amounted to \$2.45 for juniors and seniors. Other school parties added \$1.10 for juniors and \$1.20 for seniors. Picnics and banquets added \$2.35 and \$2.85 for juniors and seniors respectively.

In the light of these findings we can readily understand why the family purse often determines who participates in activities. In a democracy such a situation is indefensible. Hand's conclusion is a challenge to action: "If the activities permitted or sponsored are educative in nature, no public school in a democracy can justify making the accident of birth in an economic (or any other) sense determine who shall and who shall not benefit from said educative activities."²²

A few schools are defraying costs of activities from tax funds. For example, in the Bloomington (Illinois) High School the board of education has abolished admission charges to all home athletic, dramatic, and music events, and gives each student a free copy of the school paper and yearbook. Funds are also available for certain other activities such as school parties and dances. As a result, the holding power of the Bloomington High School seems to have been strengthened.

How much longer schools will draw a distinction between class and extraclass activities cannot be foreseen. However, there are five signs that the gap is narrowing: the practice of giving credit, sometimes toward graduation, for extraclass undertakings; the inclusion in the regular program of subjects once regarded as extraclass, such as physical education, music, art, journalism, speech, and drama; innovations in teaching methods, such as student-planning activity and evaluation that had their origin in extraclass pursuits; the introduction of an activity period in the regular time schedule given over to extraclass affairs; financial support not from student fees but from tax money.

SPECIAL SERVICES OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

In addition to curricular and extracurricular experiences, most secondary schools supply numerous special services. The range is extensive—transportation, hot lunch, health, psychiatric, psychologi-

²² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

cal, testing and appraisal, job placement and follow-up, recreation, summer sessions, adult classes, guidance, provision for atypical students, and work experience. We have selected the last three of these services for brief discussion.

GUIDANCE SERVICES

As long as the secondary school remained a highly selective institution with a rigidly prescribed curriculum, guidance scarcely presented a problem. Students who did not adjust successfully soon dropped out. Once they severed their connection with school, they looked to other sources for direction.

Today when society favors "education for *all* American youth," the secondary school is trying to adapt its services to a growing clientele. It stands ready to advise young people both in and out of school about personal and social as well as academic and occupational problems. Its expanding functions force the introduction of planned guidance programs.

According to *Evaluative Criteria*, "Guidance services, as applied to the secondary school, should be thought of as organized activities designed to give systematic aid to pupils in solving their problems and in making adjustments to various situations which they must meet. These activities should assist each pupil in knowing himself as an individual and as a member of society; in making the most of his strengths and in correcting or compensating for weaknesses that interfere with his progress; in learning about occupations so that he may intelligently plan and prepare, in whole or in part, for a career; in learning about educational opportunities available to him; and in discovering and developing creative and leisure interests."²³

In most small schools the teachers act unofficially as counselors, working informally as occasions arise in class and extraclass activities. Core or common learnings courses, which occupy one-third to one-half of the school day, present unparalleled opportunities for individual and group guidance.

Large schools often have guidance departments with staffs consisting of such specialists as counselors, psychologists, psychiatrists, physicians, and remedial teachers. Since these specialists rarely have time to become intimately acquainted with the entire student body,

²³ Cooperative Study of Secondary-School Standards, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

they usually enlist the aid of teachers. Only when guidance is an all-faculty function embodying coöperation between specialists and classroom teachers can the welfare of youth best be served.

In connection with guidance services a sizable amount of information is collected for each student's cumulative record. Some sources of information are:

1. Records from pupil's former school.
2. Appropriate tests given near the time of admission and periodically thereafter.
3. Personal data blanks.
4. Individual interviews with pupils.
5. Periodic physical examinations.
6. Periodic ratings by teachers.
7. Teachers' comments and observations.
8. Conferences with the pupils' teachers.
9. Interviews with parents, other family members, and interested friends of the pupil.
10. Appropriate tests administered to individual pupils as need for data arises.
11. Anecdotal records.
12. Autobiographies.
13. Visits to pupils' homes.
14. Case studies of pupils.
15. Sociometric studies.
16. Socioeconomic rating devices.²⁴

Guidance Services in Downers Grove, Illinois. To illustrate a functioning guidance program, let us turn to an account of the practices in Downers Grove, Illinois.

Downers Grove Community High School is very proud of its guidance program that has grown rapidly in stature and scope. Starting on a report room basis for checking attendance, it grew to a home room program and now has expanded to a system which incorporates five counsellors who conduct a program that meets the potential freshman as an eighth grader, helps him before he reaches high school, and as he continues through and beyond high school.

For the prospective students of Downers Grove Community High School this guidance program starts early in the spring of their eighth grade when they are brought to the high school in relatively small groups

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

on specified days. The purposes of such a visit are many. In the first place, each student becomes familiar with the building and how the classes operate, and eats his lunch in the cafeteria. In the second place it provides an ideal time to give the following battery of tests: (1) Iowa Algebra Aptitude Tests, (2) Henmon-Nelson Tests of Mental Ability, (3) SRA Reading Tests. Last of all this visit gives each student a chance to discuss his course plans for his first year in high school with one of the counsellors. After consideration is given to his own respective needs, and the results on the battery of tests, each student makes out his tentative freshman program to take home for his parents' approval.

In order to assist each student before he officially enters high school as a freshman, the Wednesday before school opens is designated as Freshman Day. On this day the entire freshman class meets as a group and is greeted and instructed by the superintendent, the principal, and the deans. Each student then receives his program card, is given his locker assignment, has the opportunity to secure his books and class materials, and pay necessary fees.

Just as regular classes get started with the assignment of a particular teacher, hour of meeting, and work, so does the high school guidance program, as each freshman is assigned to a particular counsellor. By this assignment each student has a particular person who will act as his advisor and helper for any problems that confront him while he is in school. It will be possible for such problems to be handled in two ways: (1) Personal ones may be discussed with the counsellor alone in a private interview. (2) More general ones may be brought up for discussion in the counselling groups. For as each student is assigned to a particular counsellor he automatically becomes a member of a group that meets as a regular class once a week. This counsellor assignment made in the freshman year will continue during the sophomore and junior years; however, the personnel of the counselling groups and the activities for each year will show variance.

Emphasis of the freshman counselling groups is placed on acquainting the students with everything about the high school through the use of the Handbook. As a freshman, each student starts his personal record folder that includes family background material, curricular and extra-curricular activities, work experiences, interests, hobbies, and vocational desires. This he will add to and revise each year he is in school, so that it may be filed as a valuable reference after he leaves school. Besides this cumulative record, each counsellor keeps an up to date record on test scores, attendance, make-up sheets, excuses, diagnostic reports, interviews, and information supplied by teachers.

During the sophomore year, stress is placed on personality development

and the problems of school, family and social adjustment. In accordance with this program each sophomore student is given the Kuder Personal Preference Test and the Otis Test of Mental Ability. As the sophomore year progresses attention is directed to vocational thoughts through discussions and the administration of Cleeton's Vocational Interest Inventory. The matter of vocational and educational needs is particularly important at this time, as each sophomore who is registering for his junior year must select three elective subjects.

Greater stress on particular vocational choices and schools is the pattern of attention for the junior counselling groups. Two tests are also given: (1) Kuder Vocational Preference Test and (2) the test provided by the Illinois High School Testing Service. The latter test measures ability in mathematics, science, English and general knowledge. Results on the various phases of this test help the individual, the high school, a college or university to know just where this student stands in reference to other students of the state.

Besides these activities in the freshman, sophomore, and junior counselling groups the students elect a representative to School Council. Each week each group hears its representative's report of School Council activities. Time is taken to discuss these reports, and many groups send questions and suggestions back with their representatives for School Council consideration.

The guidance program for the senior year deviates somewhat from the pattern followed during the first three years. The girls have as their counsellor the dean of girls; the boys, the dean of boys. Through the use of the English IV classes each senior is offered a short course in life problems conducted by the principal and the deans. The course is three weeks in length. Attention is directed to the immediate interests of seniors, namely: college requirements, general information on vocations, boy and girl relationships, marriage and family problems, and social and business etiquette. During the second semester girls are assigned to counselling classes which meet once a week to discuss marriage problems and those of current interests.

The guidance program of Downers Grove Community High School does not end with senior graduation. The personal record folder is kept up after the student leaves school. The workings of a sound guidance program incorporate an orientation program for the student before he enters high school, a well directed program for each year of high school, and a follow-up study after graduation for the purpose of evaluating the effectiveness of the school program.²⁵

²⁵ Betty Lee Chessman (ed.), *A Handbook of Information for Students, Parents, and Teachers*, Downers Grove Community High School, 1952, pp. 20-21.

PROVISIONS FOR ATYPICAL STUDENTS

Secondary schools try to give each student an education in harmony with his innate capacities. Special programs sometimes guide physically handicapped, mentally retarded, and gifted youth. Services such as the following may be available: reading, speech, and hearing clinics; sight-saving and Braille classes; facilities for crippled youth; and services for the home-bound.

At this point we merely mention the importance of providing for students at all intellectual levels. As measured by intelligence tests, the abstract intellectual ability of students is lower now than formerly. This fact, coupled with changes in vocational expectations, has led to the work being geared to average or slow students while superior ones suffer from inattention, boredom, and lack of intellectual stimulation. Figure 15²⁶ shows contrasts in the provision for educational deviates.

Insufficient attention to the gifted has fostered charges of "anti-intellectualism." In our attempts to educate everyone, the pendulum has sometimes swung far toward setting up programs that fail to challenge the more able individuals to their maximum achievement and quality of work.

The solution does not lie, however, in making schooling any less satisfactory to below-average and average youth, or in substituting the highly selective system found in Europe. Instead, it lies in adapting the work to *all*.

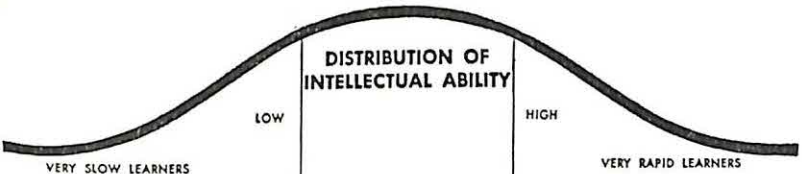
WORK EXPERIENCE

The term work experience has a number of meanings. According to one definition, "Work experience is that experience which students obtain through participating in production of needed goods or services in a normal situation in industry, business, community at large, or school, under the direction of the schools."²⁷

The idea of work experience by no means belongs to this century. However, the lean years of the depression with their widespread unemployment brought into sharp focus the problem of making a living. Studies of young people in the 1930's, such as Homer P.

²⁶ Morris Meister, in *Education Summary*, February 5, 1953, p. 5.

²⁷ National Society for the Study of Education, *op. cit.*, p. 183.



VERY SLOW LEARNERS	DISTRIBUTION OF INTELLECTUAL ABILITY	VERY RAPID LEARNERS
We are concerned about them We sympathize with the handicapped They challenge our belief in democracy	<i>Attitudes</i>	"The bright can take care of them selves" We tend to suspect the very bright To favor them is to be undemocratic
Many instruments Highly trained experts Much research	<i>Identification</i>	Few instruments Few highly trained experts Relatively unexplored area
Much special training Special licensing Salary bonus	<i>Teacher-Training</i>	Little attention by training agencies "Anybody can teach the bright" Little, if any, recognition
Much research Special adaptations Life adjustment Homogeneous grouping Special courses and classes	<i>Curriculum and School Organization</i>	Too little research Inflexibility Traditional courses "We need a few of the bright in every class, to help the rest" Too few honors classes and schools
Individualized teaching Problem-solving approach Rich audio-visual and other aids Goal: Every pupil must achieve his own maximum	<i>Teaching Procedures</i>	Group teaching Text-book-centered approach Ordinary instructional aids Goal: Every pupil must achieve the teacher's minimum; emphasis on mediocrity
Specialized rooms and equipment At least twice the average expenditure per pupil for supplies	<i>Equipment and Instructional Materials</i>	Few special facilities Normal expenditure per pupil
15 to 20 pupils per teacher	<i>Class Size</i>	30 to 35 pupils per teacher
Sub-normal	<i>Teaching Load</i>	Normal
We hope for: Reduced delinquency Improved citizenship Individual happiness Social safety	<i>Social Outcomes</i>	We too often get: Increased delinquency Doubtful citizenship value Considerable unhappiness Loss in potential contribution to society Justifiable criticism by colleges, and lack of school-college articulation

FIGURE 15. Educational Provision for the Deviates—A Contrast.

Rainey's *How Fare American Youth?* and Howard Bell's *Youth Tell Their Story*, indicated that young people were concerned about adjusting to the world of work. Their paramount problem was to find employment and economic security. Acquisition of vocational skills and of knowledge of personal and social relationships on the job became matters of prime urgency.

Basic forms of work experience include:

Co-operative Work Experience. This form includes experiences offered in such programs as co-operative distributive education (or occupations), co-operative diversified occupations, and co-operative office practice. The main feature is the division of a student's day or school term into equal periods of school study and job instruction. The job instruction is provided by a co-operating employer and is supervised by him or by an employee. The school study consists of required general academic subjects, vocational subjects of the field in which he works, and subjects related to his vocational field.

In-school Work Experience. This form is organized in a greater variety of ways than any other. The work may be individualized or it may be performed by groups. Sometimes pay is given for the work and sometimes it is not. In any instance, however, the work will be performed in or around the school, for the school or members of the student body, and under the direct supervision of the teachers or other employees of the school. This form could include such work activities as student library assistance, student clerical or janitorial labor, operation of motion-picture projector, cadet teaching or child care, participation in all-school or class-work projects in campus beautification, paper-grading, and summer gardening. In most instances direct vocational courses and courses directly related to the in-school work activities are not provided.

Institutional Work Experiences. This form is almost the same as in-school work. However, students not infrequently perform work in institutions on a co-operative basis like that used for co-operative work experience. It is differentiated on the basis of locale in which the work is performed.

Camp Work Experiences. This form, which is of fairly recent origin, differs from the others in that the central purpose of the whole educational program at the time is built around work. The work camp is what its name implies. The form is most common in states where crop harvesting requires large numbers of seasonal hands. Tobacco, citrus, and truck crops are frequently harvested by students in summer or fall work camps. The work aspect of the more general school camp program should also be mentioned here. In such camps, however, work is not the main part of the program and is concerned chiefly with camp maintenance or group projects designed to produce other primary learnings.

Developments in each of these four forms have been sufficient to provide numerous illustrations of actual school practice in educational literature. For more detailed descriptions of these four kinds of programs, including descriptions of actual programs, see *Work Experience in High*

School by Ivins and Runge and *Education for Life Adjustment*, edited by Harl R. Douglass.²⁸

Whether or not students should receive pay for work that they do in a school program gives rise to sharp controversy. Ivins and Runge suggest the following principle: "*Schools maintaining or establishing work programs shall see to it that students, generally, are paid for their work, except when that work is of a type which is ordinarily contributed freely by the worker for reasons of group welfare or service to other individuals.*"²⁹

As least eight factors should be considered in applying this principle:

1. Most productive work is paid for in the normal work world.
2. Students get much satisfaction from personal earnings.
3. Students learn to use money wisely through earning at work.
4. Training has money value as well as other values.
5. Many students need financial aid in order to continue in school.
6. Many laws require that students be paid for certain kinds of work.
7. Most community and group welfare work is unpaid.
8. In some situations, pay for student work may arouse opposition from organized labor.³⁰

Work Experience in East Hampton, Connecticut. Through work experience a school may fully utilize community resources. The East Hampton (Connecticut) High School furnishes a case in point. East Hampton is an industrial town of 4000 population. Most of its people are employed in its bell and bell-toy factories and its plants that make fish lines and wire products. The people own unpretentious houses, drive average automobiles, and live conservative lives. Insistent upon sound education, they have coöperated in initiating a diversified curriculum.

Regularly planned work experience has now been made an important aspect of the educational program of East Hampton High School. The plan provides that for 4 days each week all seniors of the industrial arts and commercial curriculums will spend the first two periods in local offices, factories, stores, and garages. They do the same jobs as the regu-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

²⁹ Wilson H. Ivins and William B. Runge, *Work Experience in High School*, The Ronald Press Company, 1951, p. 132.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

lar employees, but less is expected of them especially as to quantity production. One industrial arts teacher and one commercial teacher are scheduled to supervise this work during those two periods, to go through the community and into the industries to arrange for work opportunities, and to help iron out any difficulties which may arise in connection with pupil employment. The pupils are marked on their work experience jointly by these school faculty members and by their employers.

During the past 2 years the industrial arts pupils have elected the following types of work experience: Radio repair, machine shop, carpentry, printing, silkscreen work, auto mechanics, and power shovel operation. These have all been in local industries and with local contractors.

This work experience program has given the pupils an opportunity to acquire a great deal of knowledge about the type of work in which they think they would like to engage as adults. Sometimes they discover that the work they have selected is not to their liking and that they would be better off in some other line of work. Many of last year's pupils who benefited from this program are now employed in the industries in which they had their guided work experience. Employers state that because of this arrangement these students are far better trained and have a greater understanding of their jobs than other high-school graduates. In some cases the work experience has also inspired graduates to further their education in trade or technical schools.

Commercial pupils find work experience in typing, shorthand, bookkeeping, and general office work in the various offices in the community. In addition, a group of such pupils has formed a school-centered corporation, known as "Office Services, Inc.," for the purpose of supplying commercial services to the community. This corporation does typing, duplicating, simple bookkeeping, and filing for local business firms. Members are on call from 3 to 5 P.M. on school days and all day Saturday. Facilities of the school's commerce department are available for their use. The project is organized as an informal corporation with 100 shares of stock authorized. Eighty percent of the remuneration for work done goes to pay the pupil, and 20 percent goes to the corporation. Funds accumulated by it are used for the purchase of supplies, equipment, and other operating expenses. If there is a surplus, dividends are declared. The payroll clerk keeps a record of hours worked by all members of the organization. Salaries are paid once a month on the basis of these records. Wages are calculated on an hourly basis, but if it takes a pupil longer than an hour to do an hour's work, he gets paid for only 1 hour.³¹

³¹ Grace S. Wright, *et al.*, *Education Unlimited: A Community High School in*

SUMMARY

Because of social and technological changes, the modern secondary school must serve a growing clientele with diverse needs, abilities, and interests. The needs of youth and of society have to be considered in formulating the objectives of secondary education. These objectives find expression in the activities which comprise the curriculum. The traditional subject-centered curriculum persists in the majority of high schools. Sometimes the term core curriculum is used to designate all or part of the program of general education. The core may vary from a group of logically organized subjects required of all students to an experience-centered curriculum consisting of activities planned by teacher and students in terms of perceived needs. Extraclass activities are sponsored by most high schools and are coming more and more to be recognized as an integral part of the curriculum. Most secondary schools also furnish many special services, including guidance, provision for atypical students, and opportunity for work experience.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. How have social and technological changes affected the responsibility of the secondary school?
2. Why do youth drop out of school? How has the changing character of its students necessitated modifications in the secondary school? Can the secondary school provide a superior education for the intellectually gifted and still provide appropriate education for the average student?
3. Show the relation between the goals of education and the curriculum. Compare and contrast several statements of the aims of secondary education.
4. What experiences do secondary schools offer to assist young people in meeting their developmental tasks?
5. What has been the effect of college entrance requirements on the secondary-school curriculum?
6. Compare the curriculum of a rural high school with 50 or 100 students with that of a city high school with more than 1000 students.
7. What responsibility, if any, does the public-school system have for

- providing an adult education program that will serve the needs and interests of persons past compulsory school age?
8. Formulate a series of principles to govern the administration of extra-class activities in a high school.
 9. If possible, visit a high school that has a good guidance program. Ask the guidance counselor to describe it.
 10. Summarize one of the reports of the American Youth Commission.

CHAPTER X

The Kind of Teachers We Need

JOHN ERSKINE once wrote: "A good teacher is so rare that the rumor of him spreads with the speed of scandal." Exaggerated though this statement may be, it contains more than a grain of truth. The number of eminent teachers is never legion.

Unquestionably a competent teacher is the crucial factor in a successful school. Many a person has recognized this fact. Van Dyke expressed the idea in these lines:

What constitutes a school?
Not ancient halls and ivy-mantled towers,
Where dull traditions rule
With heavy hand youth's lightly springing powers;
Not spacious pleasure courts,
And lofty temples of athletic fame,
Where devotees of sports
Mistake a pastime for life's highest aim;
Not fashion, nor renown
Of wealthy patronage and rich estate;
No, none of these can crown
A school with light and make it truly great.
But masters, strong and wise,
Who teach because they love the teacher's task,
And find their richest prize
In eyes that open and in minds that ask. . . .¹

The concept of what a fine teacher is really like takes on new meaning continuously in different times and places. So gradual is the change, however, that a casual observer may not recognize it.

The unflattering stereotype that some people have of teachers usually includes characteristics that were once approved or demanded.

¹ Reprinted from *The Poems of Henry Van Dyke*; copyright 1911 by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939, by Tertius Van Dyke; used by permission of the publishers.

While we may resent the stereotype that makes the teacher a "brisk wielder of the birch and rule" or a prudish, dowdy "old maid," we must remember that in years not too far distant a premium was placed on stern discipline, circumspect behavior, drab, conservative attire, and (for women teachers) freedom from marital ties.

How slowly changes even in the way a teacher dresses win approval is amusingly illustrated in Virginia Church's verse entitled "Almost Human:"

The other day
Our lady Vice-Principal
Got onto the street car.
She was wearing a brand-new dress.
I heard a woman in the seat back of me
Remark to her friend:
"Ain't it awful the way these women dress?
You can't tell school teachers from ladies now-a-days."²

APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF WHAT CONSTITUTES A GOOD TEACHER

In spite of agreement that the teacher we desire for our schools is different in some respects from his predecessor, we still want to determine what constitutes a first-rate teacher. Deliberative consideration has resulted in a wealth of material concerning the characteristics of a good teacher. In recent years several hundred research studies have attempted to throw new light on the problem of measuring teaching ability and efficiency. Four approaches to the problem have been used:

1. Evaluation of *performance*. This is usually done thru observation of behavior in various types of learning-teaching situations.
2. Evaluation of *personal qualities*. Such evaluations may be inferred from studies of behavior or from paper and pencil tests.
3. Evaluation of the *mental prerequisites* of teaching efficiency—the knowledge, skills, interests, attitudes, and ideals that seem to lie back of and to control performances.
4. Evaluation of pupil *growth and achievement*. Studies of the teacher factor can usually be made concurrently with studies of the effects of other factors upon pupil growth and achievement.³

² Virginia Church, *Teachers Are People*, Wallace Hebbard, 1945, p. 26.

³ A. S. Barr, "The Measurement of Teaching Efficiency," *Growing Points in Educational Research*, American Educational Research Association, 1949, p. 251.

The value of these methods of approach has been summarized as follows:

As one studies the several researches in this area, it would appear correct to say that there is no single best approach to the evaluation of teaching. Each approach has its own strengths and weaknesses. From many points of view the measurement of pupil growth would seem to be the most defensible approach, but outcomes are not easily measured, and adequate controls over factors other than teacher effectiveness in pupil growth are not easily established. A number of investigators have employed this approach. The evaluation of performance has much to be said for it, but acts are not good or bad in general, but only in relation to purposes, persons, principles, and aspects of the immediate situation. They are probably best known by their effects. Studies of personal qualities have the advantage of centering attention upon the kinds of persons that we desire as teachers. But to make such an approach work, we must know the personal prerequisites to teaching efficiency, be able to measure them, and know the amount of generality and specificity to expect in each. We now have a number of fairly well standardized measures of mental prerequisites to teaching efficiency, but the relationships between these and teaching success as both have been measured have not ordinarily been found to be statistically significant. Currently, the trend is to use a multiple approach and to check the results secured from one approach with those secured from other approaches.⁴

In 1948 Barr summarized some 150 studies relating to the measurement and prediction of teaching efficiency. He classified the studies into six groups according to the criterion of teaching efficiency employed in each. The six groups were: (1) student teaching rating, (2) in-service ratings, (3) college grades, (4) pupil growth, (5) consensus of opinion, and (6) miscellaneous. Table 17 presents a digest summary adapted from Barr's study. The columns at the right give the correlations between each aspect of teaching investigated and the combined criteria. The results are indicated as positive, negative, or zero. Although the results are predominantly positive, there is more agreement on some characteristics than on others.

THREE ASPECTS OF TEACHING EFFICIENCY

An analysis of careful opinions and of research studies reveals that three aspects of teaching efficiency—personal and social traits, knowl-

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

TABLE 17. Digest Summary of Data Relative to Characteristics of and Prerequisites to Teaching⁵

Aspects Studied	P	N	Z
I. Personal qualities			
1. Teaching aptitude.	16	2	14
2. Resourcefulness (originality, creativeness, initiative, versatility, imagination, adventurousness, progressiveness).	8	0	2
3. Intelligence (foresight, judgment, intellectual acuity, insight, understanding, mental ability, intellectual capacity, common sense).	44	1	16
4. Emotional stability (poise, self-control, steadfastness, sobriety, reserve, dignity, non-neuroticism, emotional maturity, adjustment, constancy, loyalty, easy-goingness, realism in facing life, not excitable, stable integrated character).	33	0	13
5. Considerateness (appreciativeness, kindliness, friendliness, courteousness, sympathy, tact, good-naturedness, helpfulness, patience, politeness, thoughtfulness, tolerance).	38	0	3
6. Buoyancy (optimism, enthusiasm, cheerfulness, gregariousness, fluency, talkativeness, sense of humor, pleasantness, carefreeness, vivaciousness, alertness, animation, idealism, articulateness, expressiveness, wittiness).	42	0	1
7. Objectivity (fairness, impartiality, openmindedness, freedom from prejudice, sense of evidence).	26	0	1
8. Drive (physical vigor, energy, perseverance, ambition, industry, endurance, motivation, purposefulness, speediness, zealotness, quickness).	19	0	0
9. Dominance (self-confidence, forcefulness, decisiveness, courageousness, independence, insensitiveness to social approval, self-sufficiency, determination, thick-skinnedness, self-reliance, self-assertiveness).	24	0	9
10. Attractiveness (dress, physique, freedom from physical defects, personal magnetism, neatness, cleanliness, posture, personal charm, appearance).	27	0	0
11. Refinement (good taste, modesty, morality, conventionality, culture, polish, well-readness).	8	0	0
12. Cooperativeness (friendliness, easy-goingness, geniality, generousness, adaptability, flexibility, responsiveness, trustfulness, warm-heartedness, unselfishness, charitableness).	13	0	0
13. Reliability (accuracy, dependability, honesty, punctuality, responsibility, conscientiousness, painstakingness, trustworthiness, consistency, sincerity).	28	0	0
14. Personality, general.	34	0	2
II. Competences (abilities to do)			
A. As a director of learning			
1. Skill in identifying pupil needs	0	0	0
2. Skill in setting and defining goals	2	0	0

⁵ A. S. Barr, *et al.*, "The Measurement and Prediction of Teaching Efficiency: A Summary of Investigations," *Journal of Experimental Education*, June, 1948, pp. 207-210.

TABLE 17. (Continued)

	P	N	Z
3. Skill in creating favorable mind sets	12	0	0
4. Skill in choosing learning experiences	2	0	0
5. Skill in the following learning process			
a. In providing for individual differences	7	0	0
b. In making activities meaningful	2	0	0
c. In locating and overcoming difficulties	0	0	0
d. In organizing experiences into meaningful wholes	7	0	0
e. In supervising study	4	0	0
f. In directing discussion	7	0	0
6. Skill in using learning aids	4	0	0
7. Skill in teacher-pupil relations	38	0	0
8. Skill in appraising pupil growth and achievement	1	0	0
9. Skill in management	8	0	0
10. Skill in instruction (general)	34	0	1
B. As counselor and friend of pupils	1	0	0
C. As member of a profession	0	0	0
D. As member of a community	1	0	0
III. Effects of teacher leadership (results)	14	0	0
IV. Behavior controls			
A. Knowledges			
1. Knowledge of the subject matter taught or activity directed	27	0	3
2. Knowledge of child behavior and development	4	0	0
3. Knowledge of professional practices and techniques	46	0	5
4. General cultural background	14	0	7
5. Scholarship, grade point average	55	1	3
B. Generalized skills			
1. Skill in problem solving	1	0	0
2. Work habits	7	0	1
3. Skill in human relationships (see teacher-pupil relationships)	0	0	0
4. Skill in the use of language			
a. Speech	27	0	0
b. Reading	7	0	3
c. English usage	8	0	1
C. Interests, attitudes and ideals			
1. Interest in pupils	7	0	0
2. Interest in subject or activity	1	0	0
3. Interest in teaching and school work	20	0	5
4. Interest in community	5	0	2
5. Social attitudes	11	2	6
6. Professional attitudes	6	0	0
7. Efforts toward self-improvement	2	0	1
8. Interests (general)	7	0	0
9. Interest in extra-curricular activities	8	0	0
D. Health	12	0	2
E. Morale	0	0	0

edge of subject matter, and professional preparation—have received a large amount of attention. We shall discuss them as they apply to teachers in the mid-twentieth century.

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL TRAITS

The prominent place given to personal and social traits both in scientific studies and in popular thinking is not surprising since much of a teacher's value comes from his personal influence. Melvin expresses the idea in these words: "Every teacher who helps human beings helps them according to his own strength. The teacher is not merely a master of incidental knowledge that can be picked up for a pittance of hours in a closet with a book. He is not merely the trickster who knows a few techniques and manipulates them in teaching. On the contrary, his every glance is a carrier of knowledge, his touch, his word, his judgment make teaching thin and mean or rich and meaningful. To teach greatly, the teacher must himself be great. . . . The teacher himself is education."

Innumerable lists of traits assumed to be determinants of teaching adequacy have been compiled. Some embody opinions of pupils. Letters submitted in the "Best Teacher" contest conducted annually by the sponsor of the Quiz Kids program reveal children's ideas concerning "The Teacher Who Helped Me Most." After reading 90,000 entries during five years, Paul Witty of Northwestern University, originator and judge of the contest, has reported that the teachers most admired are those with a "cooperative, democratic attitude." Pupils prefer a teacher who is well adjusted and genuinely responsive in human relations. They mentioned most frequently twelve qualities of a good teacher:

- 1) A friendly attitude ("Miss X's class is just like one big happy family; I am not afraid of school any more");
- 2) consideration for the individual ("She doesn't make a monkey out of you before everybody");
- 3) patience ("She never gives up until you are able to do it");
- 4) wide interests ("She brings in outside ideas and helps us to apply what we learn in our everyday lives");
- 5) good manners ("There was something about his voice and his smile that made me feel good clear down to my stomach");
- 6) fairness ("She gives you exactly what you deserve");
- 7) sense of humor ("She puts some fun into each day so school does not seem so monotonous");
- 8) good disposition ("I'm sure she must have a tem-

per, as most people do, but I have never seen an example of it"); 9) interest in the individual ("She has helped me over a period of self-consciousness, and my improvement is due to her making me feel at ease"); 10) flexibility ("When she found she was wrong she said so, and tried something else"); 11) generosity ("Miss X acted as though she didn't know I was dumb and so I decided she'd never find out. That's the first good report card I ever got"); 12) skill ("Suddenly I could read out of my reader. She taught me and I didn't know it").

The children had another way of describing the good teacher. They told what the good teacher doesn't do:

"She doesn't yell, holler, scream, shout; get angry, mad, furious; fly off the handle; pound the desk; fuss; fly in a rage; bite your head off."

"She doesn't have pets."

"She never makes fun of any pupil before the class."

"She doesn't wear the same dress all the time."

"He doesn't use big words."

"She doesn't talk all the time."⁶

Other lists mirror the opinions of adults. One of the most pretentious investigations of teachers' traits was made by Charters and Waples in connection with the Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study. They sought the opinions of many persons—pupils, school administrators, teachers, parents, and professors of education. From their findings, Charters and Waples compiled a list of essential traits. A comparison of the Charters-Waples rank list of traits and of the Barr-Emans list derived from an analysis of 209 teacher-rating scales is given in Table 18.

Anyone who realistically examines the multitudes of lists must agree with Mabel Louise Culkin: "I cannot think without pain of the morbidly industrious and highly imaginative work done by collectors of character traits for the ideal teacher. The list of virtues thus catalogued should be properly applied to angels."

Attempts to ascertain the relationship between the presence or absence of given traits and successful teaching have not been encouraging. Apparently a given trait derives significance from the total personality setting. Weakness in one trait may be compensated for by strength in another. Lack of fluency, for example, may be overlooked if one is master of his subject. This is well illustrated in the case of Louis Agassiz, who had rare ability to interest students

⁶ "The Good Teacher," *Time*, August 21, 1950, p. 44.

TABLE 18. A Comparison of the Charters Rank List of Teachers' Traits and the Barr-Emans List⁷

Traits	Charters Average Rank	Barr-Emans Rank
1. Adaptability	6	13
2. Personal appearance (neatness, cleanliness)	15	3
3. Breadth and intensity of interest (in community, profession, pupils, etc.)	7	4
4. Carefulness (accuracy, definiteness, thoroughness)	11	18
5. Considerateness (appreciativeness, courtesy, kindness, sympathy, tact, unselfishness)	3	5
6. Cooperation (helpfulness, loyalty)	9	1
7. Enthusiasm (alertness, animation, inspiration, spontaneity)	4	12
8. Fluency (skill in expression)	24	9
9. Forcefulness (courage, decisiveness, firmness, independence, purposefulness)	11	23
10. Judgment (discretion, foresight, insight, intelligence)	1	20
11. Health (vigor, energy, vitality)	14	8
12. Honesty (dependability, consistency)	8	22.5
13. Industry (patience, perseverance, ambition)	16	17
14. Leadership (initiative, self-confidence)	11	6
15. Personal magnetism (attractiveness, pleasantness, cheerfulness, optimism, sense of humor, approachability, sociability, wittiness)	5	2
16. Open-mindedness (freedom from prejudice, objectivity)	22	24.5
17. Originality (creative ability, imaginativeness, resourcefulness)	20	14
18. Progressiveness (willingness to try new means, methods, materials)	23	22.5
19. Promptness (dispatch, punctuality)	21	7
20. Refinement (conventionality, good taste, modesty, morality, simplicity)	10	15
21. Scholarship (knowledge of subject and related subjects, cultural background)	19	10
22. Self-control (calmness, dignity, poise, reserve, sobriety)	2	11
23. Thrift	25	24.5

in science but was far from fluent. "His command of English never became perfect. He always had a strong accent and frequently he had to pause and grope for the proper word. These imperfections were more than balanced by his clarity, simplicity and enthusiasm, and only endeared him further to the public." Some deficiencies, however, such as lack of honesty or dislike of children, are not offset by desirable qualities.

⁷ A. S. Barr *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

Emphasis on total personality rather than discrete traits should help us avoid the error of trying to cast teachers in a standard mold. Each teacher, like every other individual, is unique. We must not expect a uniform product. As Scates reminds us, "There is no particular single pattern in the form of a standardized profile which represents a good teacher. There are many combinations of traits possible which would make persons entirely acceptable to most situations. Further, special profiles will be called for by numerous special teaching conditions. An ideal balance for a school is to be looked for more in terms of the group of teachers than in any one person."

In his stimulating book, *Teacher in America*, Barzun also observes that all sorts of people may be successful teachers.

Remember you need lecturers and discussers and tutors. They can differ in endless, unpredictable ways. You can take the halt, the lame, the blind; men with speech defects or men who cannot be heard above a whisper; gross and repulsive men (at first) like my blessed mathematics instructor; men who are lazy and slow, who are bright and unstable, or incorrigible *enfants terribles*; you can even risk some who are deficient in learning, and join them to form an admirable as well as an induplicable faculty. This is possible because the students also display a variety of human traits and cannot all be reached and moved by the same spells.⁸

A report of the National Education Association likewise points out that teachers cannot be put into one type.

There is the attractive, quickly sympathetic, alert young teacher who is always surrounded by a group of pupils who are coming back for the special response and help that the teacher is sure to give. There is the older teacher, rich in understanding and skill, to whom pupils and parents alike constantly go for counsel and information. There is the scholar-citizen who combines the best of general education and pedagogical skill with the whole-hearted devotion to the building of a better society—in local community, state, nation, and the world. There will be more and more teachers . . . of these truly professional types as the public provides conditions under which greatness of spirit and service can develop.⁹

⁸ Jacques Barzun, *Teacher in America*, Little, Brown and Company, 1945, p. 187.

⁹ National Education Association, *Our Children, Annual Report of the Profession to the Public*, 1946, p. 14.

KNOWLEDGE OF SUBJECT MATTER

Although many laymen think that teachers succeed mainly because of their personal qualities, even the most ardent believer in the idea that "teachers are born and not made" usually admits that a pleasing personality alone is insufficient. To plead for personality without other qualifications is what Robert Hutchins terms "the formula for educational futilitarianism." Knowledge of subject matter is indispensable. Every teacher should have a broad cultural education in order to live a rich, meaningful personal life and contribute to the improvement of society. Like all responsible people, he must have competence in managing his own affairs and participating in social groups.

Besides a broad general education, every teacher needs mastery in the major areas in which he will teach and acquaintance with closely allied fields of learning. He must be able to draw upon a wealth of knowledge in order to teach effectively and to inspire genuine love for learning.

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

While academic education is basic, it is only one part of the preparation essential for a teacher. Along with it must go professional education. The idea that "any one who knows his subject can teach it" yields ground slowly. The knowledge and skill that old-time teachers gained through experience, often at the expense of their pupils, can be acquired in preservice preparation. The kind of academic and professional education needed by modern teachers is discussed in Chapter XI.

TWO DESCRIPTIONS OF SUCCESSFUL TEACHERS

A COMPOSITE PICTURE

Let us summarize by giving two descriptions of successful teachers. The first is a composite picture based on generalizations formulated by Francis V. Rummell of the Office of Education, who interviewed a number of successful teachers. He found that all these teachers see teaching as a way to make life rich, even though they barely earn a living. They are concerned about improving the standards of

their profession. They are enthusiastic about their community and have nothing whatever to say about taboos and personal liberty. Perhaps most significant of all is the following generalization:

All the teachers shared to a remarkable degree one specific quality—artistry in human relations. . . .

These teachers have a zest for the dozen-and-one times every day that they have to be quick on the intellectual trigger to keep up with the mischievous, the creative, the contradictory, the nimblewitted. They are emotionally alive to catch the overtones of social behavior—so important with the baffled, the insecure, the hypersensitive, and the frustrated. They are zealously democratic in their methods, if we consider that true democracy is respect for the individual. Finally, they are humanitarian, or they would not care particularly about children's needs.

These teachers have a high degree of sensitivity to children's emotional problems. Again, aside from achievements in their own fields of scholarship and in varying degrees, they have something of the actor, the master of ceremonies, the lovelorn columnist, the humorist, the crusader, the public-relations expert. In all phases of their work they take the avenue marked "human relations."

Consequently they do not talk about teaching "methods" but of understanding the child and about the urgency of teaching him, by example and by precept, the principles of democratic living.¹⁰

PORTRAIT OF ROSE MURPHY

Our second description gives a picture not of a group but of an individual. Although Rummell probably did not interview Rose Murphy, an alumna of Indiana State Teachers College, she may be cited as an excellent teacher who exhibits artistry in human relations. Her portrait, sketched by Dean Grinnell, deserves a place in our gallery.

I saw Rose Murphy this noon. We chatted on Main Street for a few minutes and then sat together over a cup of coffee for another half hour. I came back to work with a lighter step and a firmer faith in my profession. What to put in this editorial had been bothering me before I left on my vacation. In fact, the imp of Unperformed Duty nagged me all around Europe. I had thought to write it before I went away, but it was still unwritten. Yet the edges of my idea had showed themselves often. In a general way I knew. Seeing Rose brought the idea to flower.

¹⁰ Francis V. Rummell, "What Are Good Teachers Like?" *Education Digest*, November, 1948, p. 5.

She had been the subject all the time, only I had been seeing her in generalities, as the qualities of a teacher, of any good teacher. If this sounds more like a eulogy than an editorial, I'll not care. Every teacher should approve a eulogy written while the subject is alive to enjoy it. Moreover, Rose, like Hamlet, is touched with universality. . . . But to my subject.

She is as stout as ever. I wouldn't say fat. And though she has three grown daughters, she is as young looking as when I saw her first too many years ago. Her eyes sparkle with good humor and belief in people and life. Maybe that has kept her young. Certainly it wasn't laziness that did it. She has always been as willing and as tireless as a donkey engine, but she never "puts-puts" about how much work she is doing. The good life is a simple formula for her and when she tells me about it, it seems as natural and beautiful as roses and plum blossoms. Here it is: she loves children and she finds joy in helping them grow up. They are all as much her children as the three she nursed when her husband was alive and she wasn't teaching—more than a generation ago.

Exactly what subject is assigned to her is not important. When I first knew her, it was science in junior high school. Later she ran a home economics department. She kept on studying in extension classes and summer schools. She has her Master's degree now and teaches English. Her teaching reminds me of Jonathan Swift's writing and good drinking water. It accomplishes its purpose without calling attention to itself. It sneaks up on one. Her method is so closely interwoven with her knowledge of the children and of her subject that it is almost unnoticed in the pattern of learning.

But I wouldn't be writing about her for my editorial if she were only an excellent classroom teacher. That isn't why the old grads look her up when they come back to the home town; that isn't why she looks little older than her daughters and why the high school youngsters are glad to have her as a chaperone—or hiking companion; that isn't why the town has come to depend on her in so many of its youth projects; that isn't why I felt taller after I had talked with her.

Rose teaches mostly by being. I found myself repeating what Matthew Arnold said of teachers:

“. . . souls tempered with fire,
Fervent, heroic, and good,
Helpers and friends of mankind.”

If she ever suffered from too much ego, the tears and laughter of children took it out of her long ago. In the years I have known her, she

has wept and rejoiced in hundreds of young personalities. By a wonderful paradox, though she has given kindness, fair play, honesty, ardor, faith to the formation of more than a generation of young men and women, she has more to give today than when she was a slim, almost-too-lively girl on her first job.

Emerson rebuked the world for mischoosing its heroes. We place our adulation on many who have done nothing finer than to accumulate dollars or to get elected to office. I insist that the home town has no nobler citizen than Rose Murphy. She will laugh merrily when she reads that statement and then she will be serious, wishing she could be what I say she is. She is the good teacher, and the good teacher calls home the heart to the best there is in life.

That is why Rose Murphy is the subject of this editorial.¹¹

A SELF-SURVEY

Now that you have read about the characteristics of good teachers, try to appraise your own aptitude for teaching. Use the following self-rating scale prepared by the Central Washington College of Education. Ask a mature person to help you judge the accuracy of your rating. After you have taken the self-examination, ask yourself these questions:

1. To what extent do I possess the qualities necessary for success in teaching?
2. In what qualities do I rank low?
3. How will my low rating in these qualities affect my probable success as a teacher?
4. What plan shall I follow to overcome my deficiencies?
5. Do I need try-out experiences to aid me in deciding whether or not I should choose teaching as a career?

¹¹ J. E. Grinnell, "Rose Murphy," *Indiana Teachers College Journal*, October, 1948, p. 1.

A SELF-RATING SCALE FOR DETERMINING FITNESS FOR TEACHING¹²

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
I. LEADERSHIP ABILITY					
1. Have you served as leader in student groups; i.e., have you held an office, taken part in programs, or led discussions?					
2. Do your fellow students respect your opinions?					
3. Do they regard you as a leader?					
4. Do your fellow students ask you for help and advice?					
5. Do you sense how others feel; i.e., whether they approve certain proposals, or like or dislike certain persons?					
6. Do you try to make others happy by listening to what they say, and by being courteous, friendly and helpful?					
7. Do you succeed in getting others to follow your suggestions without creating friction or ill will?					
II. HEALTH AND PHYSICAL FITNESS					
1. Do you have good health?					
2. Do you have lots of vitality? Can you stand to do hard physical tasks or nerve-racking work?					
3. Can you engage in activities which others in your group customarily do?					
4. Do you give others the impression that you are physically fit, well-groomed and attractive in personal appearance?					
5. Do you keep cheerful and even-tempered even when tired or ill?					
III. GOOD SCHOLARSHIP					
1. Have you maintained a better-than-average record in high school?					

¹² Reprinted from *You'd Like Teaching*, 1946 College Bulletin, College of Education, Central Washington College, Ellensburg, pp. 31-35.

A SELF-RATING SCALE FOR DETERMINING FITNESS FOR TEACHING (Continued)

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
2. Are you interested in the subjects you have taken or are taking in high school?					
3. Do you enjoy studying and find it easy to concentrate when you do study?					
4. Do you express your ideas well before a class or public group?					
5. Is it easy for you to explain things so that others understand and can follow your directions?					
IV. INTELLECTUAL TRAITS AND ABILITIES					
1. Are school subjects easy for you?					
2. Do you spend time finding out more about a topic discussed in class or covered in an assignment?					
3. Do you read books or magazine articles on current topics?					
4. Do you like to work out ideas "on your own"?					
5. Do you suggest new ideas or plans which can be carried out by school groups?					
V. EMOTIONAL STABILITY					
1. Are you an even-tempered, cheerful, happy sort of person?					
2. Can you "take it" without getting angry or upset?					
3. Do you keep from worrying and feeling depressed?					
4. Are you naturally patient with and tolerant of others?					
5. Are you objectively critical of yourself?					
6. Do you see the humorous side of everyday happenings even when you yourself are involved?					
VI. SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS					
1. Are you interested in the problems other people meet and do you want to help them solve them?					

A SELF-RATING SCALE FOR DETERMINING FITNESS FOR TEACHING (*Continued*)

	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Always
2. Are you interested in finding ways by which you can help improve human living?					
3. Do you like people—especially children?					
4. Do you set high social standards for yourself and seek to reach and maintain these standards?					
5. Do you cooperate readily with other people in socially desirable activities?					
6. Are you willing to make sacrifices and to endure inconveniences to reach a goal you consider worthy?					

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. After you have checked the self-rating scale in this chapter, decide upon a trait that you wish to improve. Map out a plan for improvement and follow it for six weeks. Write a report of your progress.
2. Summarize the main ideas in the article, "How Do We Know a Good Teacher?" by Barbara Biber and Agnes Snyder, *Childhood Education*, February, 1948, pages 281-285.
3. Have a forum discussion on the question: Should the conduct and character of teachers be above the average of other responsible people in the community?
4. Write an essay on the subject, "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most."
5. Are there significant differences in desirable personal traits for elementary, secondary, and college teachers?
6. Read the life story of a successful teacher. Select the personal traits that contributed to his distinction. *Great Teachers*, edited by Houston Peterson, contains vivid sketches from biographies of stimulating teachers.
7. Invite a superintendent of schools to talk to your class on "The Kind of Teachers We Need."

CHAPTER XI

Teacher Preparation and Placement

TEACHERS OF the kind society needs do not spring full-blown into being. They represent a happy combination of native endowment and education. They are available only insofar as capable young people choose teaching as a career and prepare properly for it. This chapter deals with some aspects of the problem of securing and educating able teachers. The major topics taken up are recruitment, selection and guidance, preparation, certification, placement, and in-service education.

TEACHER RECRUITMENT

How to spur the interest of competent young people in preparing for teaching is a pressing problem. The surplus of teachers that existed before World War II has been succeeded by a shortage that may be more than temporary.

The source of supply of teachers is less dependable than formerly. Until a couple of decades ago thousands of young people from lower-middle-income families turned to teaching as almost the only socially acceptable calling open to them. Since little if any special training was required for certification, teaching became a convenient stepping-stone occupation. Men often taught for a few years to finance their study for a profession such as law or medicine, and many women taught only long enough to secure money for a trousseau. For women who did not marry, teaching was a "genteel" way of earning a living. It was better than remaining dependent upon parents or other relatives for food and clothing.

Today the standards for entrance into teaching have generally been raised enough to lessen its lure as a stopgap calling. Besides, a practically unlimited choice of remunerative and socially acceptable occupations is open to middle-income groups. Hence, unless a

concerted effort is made, many potentially acceptable teachers will not even consider teaching as a possible career.

The continuous process of trying to guide desirable candidates into teacher education is, for lack of a better word, often called recruitment. The process is not merely a matter of increasing the number of teachers. Rather it is a means of obtaining capable young people from whom to select candidates.

Responsibility for recruitment rests with teachers and their professional organizations, teacher-preparing institutions, and the lay public.

Teachers at all levels are in a strategic position to carry on recruitment. If they are "living witnesses" of a calling that yields deep satisfactions, they can exercise a positive influence. The process may start as early as the elementary school. A librarian at Illinois State Normal University permits pupils in the upper grades to tell stories to the children in the lower grades as a means of arousing interest in teaching. Teachers of fifth- and sixth-grade girls at the Sarah J. Rawson School in Hartford, Connecticut, have students who are interested in work with younger children leave their classrooms for a certain period each day to participate in some of the kindergarten program. Many of these junior aides who are now in high school have signified their intention of becoming teachers.

For high-school students varied opportunities of working with younger children are provided; the plan in Decatur, Illinois, is described in Chapter XII. Certainly, evidence of potential capabilities may be discovered in junior and senior high school. Direct occupational study and guidance should be provided as early as the junior high school. Counselors with a clear perception and deep appreciation of the unlimited possibilities open to teachers can guide some outstanding young people into the profession.

Not only as individuals but also as members of professional organizations can teachers be instrumental in interesting young people in teaching. Such groups as Phi Delta Kappa and Delta Kappa Gamma are sponsoring fruitful recruitment programs. Delta Kappa Gamma holds many conferences with high-school girls and provides several scholarships for prospective teachers.

The Future Teachers of America, an affiliate of the National Education Association, has a workable program for selective recruit-

ment and preprofessional experience. FTA clubs are organized in high schools and colleges. Those in the high schools are vocational and exploratory in nature. They present to topnotch high-school students the unlimited opportunities that teaching offers. FTA chapters in colleges offer personal experience working with local, state, and national education associations. In 1953 the organization had more than 500 college chapters with a membership of 24,000 and 2000 high-school clubs with a membership of over 32,000.

The high standards set by FTA chapters are indicated by the Future Teacher's Pledge:

The Good Teacher Requires:

PHYSICAL VITALITY. I will try to keep my body well and strong.

MENTAL VIGOR. I will study daily to keep my mind active and alert.

MORAL DISCRIMINATION. I will seek to know the right and to live by it.

WHOLESOME PERSONALITY. I will cultivate in myself goodwill, friendliness, poise, upright bearing, and careful speech.

HELPLESSNESS. I will learn the art of helping others by doing helpful things daily in school and home.

KNOWLEDGE. I will fill my mind with worthy thoughts by observing all that is beautiful in the world around me, by reading the best books, and by association with the best companions.

LEADERSHIP. I will make my influence count on the side of right, avoiding habits that weaken and destroy.

These things will I do now that I may be worthy of the high office of teacher.

State teachers' associations as well as the National Education Association try actively to recruit teachers. Some conduct essay contests in an effort to interest outstanding high-school seniors in entering teaching. In 1950 the South Dakota Education Association sponsored an essay contest on the subject, "Why I Plan to Become a Teacher." In addition to a \$35 award for each of the three winners, scholarships were offered in six colleges in South Dakota.

Many state teachers' associations make printed material available to acquaint high-school pupils with the profession. The following is taken from a leaflet, *Teachers Wanted*, published by the Alabama Education Association for distribution to school officials during its Teachers Selection Week in 1949:

If

you enjoy working with young people and they like you,
you enjoy showing people how to do things,
you are a leader in your school group,
you have physical and mental vigor,
you have a well-balanced school record,
you have the ability to speak clearly and forcefully,
you want to grow personally and professionally,
you wish to be a community leader,
you have the ability to observe,
you want your career to provide for Advancement . . . Recreation . . .
Travel

THEN

YOU'LL FIND HAPPINESS IN TEACHING.

The Iowa State Education Association's pamphlet, *You Can Take It With You*, bases its appeal along the following lines: "If you can choose teaching as a career, your interests can be your career. Teaching is a way of living as well as a way of making a living. Your training as a teacher is an investment in yourself. If you have certain qualities, you will find happiness in teaching."

Teachers' organizations aid recruitment in many ways other than disseminating information about teaching. Perhaps their most practicable contribution is their endeavor to create conditions that make teaching alluring. Students are unlikely to enter or remain in a calling if the conditions surrounding their work are unsatisfactory. Accordingly, teachers in service are striving to bring about improvement in working and living conditions, salary, tenure, retirement, supervision, and leadership.

Teacher-preparing institutions take seriously their share of responsibility for acquainting both high-school and college students about the possibilities in teaching. Some activities intended to foster good public relations affect recruitment indirectly. For example, prospective students become interested in college through publications—annual catalogues, summer bulletins, college newspapers, and student yearbooks—which may be distributed to high schools, libraries, and newspapers. They are influenced by publicity about a college disseminated through slides, films, radio programs, newspaper releases, and high-school assembly programs presented by college forensic, dramatic, and musical organizations. Other ac-

tivities are intended to encourage recruitment directly. Among them are guidance conferences in which members of the college staff and occasionally representatives of the student body participate. Conferences may be conducted on college campuses or at high schools. Campus visiting days are often planned for high-school seniors. At Plymouth Teachers College in New Hampshire the Future Teachers of America sponsors an Acquaintance Day to which high-school juniors and seniors are invited.

Once students are enrolled in college, the recruitment cause can be furthered by guided observation in elementary-school classrooms, contacts with children through such groups as Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, personal interviews, courses giving information on opportunities in teaching, and better programs for future teachers. Some suggestions for improving programs are given in this chapter.

The lay public as well as teachers and teacher-education institutions has a role in recruiting teachers. The esteem in which the lay public holds teaching carries tremendous weight. Young people are reluctant to enter a field that does not rank high in community regard. The opinions of parents are particularly significant. Unless fathers and mothers are willing for their sons and daughters to teach, the calling cannot draw the young people it deserves.

The lay public helps determine the caliber of tomorrow's teachers through the kind of teaching staff and the quality of the local school program it provides. Pupils form their ideas of teachers and teaching from their own school experiences. Overworked, underpaid, uninspiring teachers leave an imprint that exhortations about importance of teaching cannot smooth away. In many respects the local school system is in a key position in helping pupils decide for or against teaching as a career.

The public may play a significant role in recruiting candidates by providing financial aid for prospective teachers. Many lay groups have made a beginning along this line. For example, the Optimist Club of Ardmore, Pennsylvania, awards a scholarship each year to a boy in the Lower Merion or Haverford Township High School who plans to teach. The scholarship amounts to \$400 a year for four years and may be used in any school of education in the state. Some states provide scholarships for students who are preparing to teach.

Special lay groups try to interest young people in teaching in ways other than through financial aid. Scores of branches of the American Association of University Women are working for recruitment. Some have joined forces with local and state officials to secure better laws on tenure and increased budgets for teachers' salaries. Others have such projects as organizing Future Teachers of America, awarding prizes to high-school students for essays on "School Teaching," preparing posters for use in high schools, arranging radio programs on teacher recruitment, and giving high-school libraries books designed to interest students in teaching.

The public further influences recruitment through its moral and financial support of teachers colleges. Not infrequently they are looked upon as weak schools and are grudgingly allotted funds. In 1949-1950, after a survey of the physical needs of teachers colleges in one state, a committee of the American Association of University Women announced: "We found a major reason for the teacher shortage—the pathetic inadequacies in the physical setup of our teachers colleges." Had the committee investigated other matters, equally disheartening conditions might have been unearthed. Until the public sees teachers colleges in their correct perspective, many of the best young people will avoid them and go to colleges that may steer them away from teaching.

PRESERVICE TEACHER SELECTION AND GUIDANCE

Preservice selection of teachers is inevitably linked with recruitment and guidance. Selection must be made from candidates who intend to become teachers. Unless a sufficiently large number of the right kind of people are available, selection fails to serve its real purpose. While the current teacher shortage may make any consideration of selection seem impractical, raising the standards high enough to command respect will in the long run increase the number of people attracted to teaching.

Any plan of preservice selection assumes that we can tell about a person's chances to succeed in teaching at some future date. The accuracy of prediction depends on the ability (1) to define what constitutes successful teaching, (2) to identify traits that contribute to it, (3) to measure or identify these traits in individuals, (4) to change or develop trait patterns and to forecast changes.

On all these points we admit frankly that research has not supplied a scientific basis for selection. Lack of agreement as to which teachers in service are successful puzzles researchers. A teacher who is rated superior by one supervisor may be judged unsatisfactory by another. Typical college measures of success show low correlation with those used by employers. With this variation in judgment as to competent and incompetent teachers who are actually employed we can expect difficulty in distinguishing traits which contribute to effective and ineffective teaching.

In the absence of scientific evidence we must trust largely to judgments made by such groups as school officials and leaders in education. For generations schoolmen have used subjective estimates as their chief guide in choosing teachers. Although they have made mistakes of judgment, their opinions are doubtless preferable to mere chance selection and throw valuable light on the preservice prediction of teaching ability.

Methods of identifying and measuring traits in individuals are still unsatisfactory. Some procedures are highly subjective; others are relatively objective. By combining such techniques and sources of information as interviews, letters of recommendation, principal's rating, standard tests, and physical examinations, data are secured concerning scholastic achievement, physical fitness, personality, character, special aptitudes, attitude toward teaching, general interests, experience with youth groups, work experience, and social-economic status.

In view of the difficulties inherent in the task, thoughtful investigators are modest in their claims to success in predicting teaching ability. They are likely to be as cautious in their statements as Morse of the University of Michigan is when he writes:

Does this mean that there is no place for certain of the present practices in teacher selection? Obviously the profession is interested in obtaining not only the passable candidates but in obtaining those who are best fitted. Thus, if one does no more than a rough screening to eliminate the ill-equipped or obviously misplaced and provide encouragement to the optimum group he will have performed a significant service. On the factual side, we can appraise such things as the student's content knowledge in his field; on the skills side, his facility in reading, use of English, and objective thinking. Here we can require a given degree

of competency as well as a set number of subject hours. We can appraise his interest in teaching, his personality characteristics and his basic motivational patterns. With due allowances for inaccuracies of such measures, the scores can be the basis of arbitrary elimination of the less adequate, used by the staff for guidance and therapy in some instances and by the student in self-appraisal in all instances. These items are not considered as predictors of teaching success; they can only form the basis for obtaining a potentially superior group upon which to graft the desired professional training. Until the newer methods of teacher selection are perfected and validated, programs must be content to claim only that they are dealing with minimum background essentials rather than selection in the true sense.¹

WHEN AND HOW SELECTION TAKES PLACE

Some colleges have a procedure for selection prior to admission to the institution. Under this plan students must meet certain standards before they are permitted to enroll. The nature of the standards depends on a number of factors. Among them are the attitude of the college toward the urgency of getting students of high quality for teaching, the opinion of advisers as to whether or not through remedial instruction the college can help a candidate overcome certain deficiencies, the facilities of the college, and the supply of and demand for teachers.

In state-supported institutions state legislation has a bearing on selective admission. In some states the laws make selective admission difficult; in others, they make it mandatory. For example, state universities in Ohio and Nebraska must accept nearly all applicants who are graduates of accredited high schools, but the candidates are not necessarily permitted to enter the school of education. By way of contrast, the enrollment of students in state teachers colleges in New York and New Jersey is regulated by the state department of education on the basis of qualification of students and size of college.

Once students are enrolled in college the process of selection operates at various times. It may take place on the freshman level; it may be deferred until the junior year. In the latter case, additional data upon which to base a decision are available. Moreover, juniors

¹ William C. Morse, "Some Problems of Pre-Service Teacher Selection," *University of Michigan School of Education Bulletin*, April, 1948, p. 100.

are more mature and can profit better from vocational counseling than can freshmen.

An idea of the way selection and guidance function may be gained from accounts of actual practice. We shall include brief descriptions of the essential features of the Connecticut state plan and the Syracuse University plan.

A statewide selective-admissions program has been followed in Connecticut for many years. All four teachers colleges, operating on a quota basis, make a concerted effort to evaluate and admit all candidates on a combination of factors. The University of Connecticut uses procedures and standards similar in many respects to those of the teachers colleges.

On the application form for admission to a Connecticut state teachers college, the candidate provides information on his highschool record, his family background, the likelihood of financial help in financing his education, extra-curriculum activities, special recognition, interests and hobbies, past experiences, and activities.

The highschool principal's statement certifies as to the applicant's relative senior-class standing, IQ and achievement-test scores, and gives a general rating on such personal qualifications as cooperation, command of language, ability to meet people, punctuality, habits of work, and estimate of moral character. The principal recommends (or fails to recommend) the acceptance of the candidate for teaching or for the general education course.

Often the superintendent, too, indicates his belief that the candidate will make a good teacher.

Entrance Exams

Uniform entrance examinations are administered, thus enabling a student to take the examination in any one of the four college areas, though he is making application to a specific college. Tests include a standardized intelligence test; a comprehensive standardized achievement test of highschool accomplishment; a speech test; a reading test of comprehension, word analysis, and general ability; and an interview.

Personal interviews are given by selected members of the faculty, assisted where possible by expert psychiatrists. Skill in interviewing is constantly improved by continuous review and evaluation of techniques used. As the candidate and the faculty members informally discuss high-school experiences, reasons for continuing an education, hobbies, inter-

ests, and moral values, members of the committee are given an opportunity to observe desirable and undesirable factors.

They note as desirable: participation in extra-curriculum highschool experiences, work with smaller children, summer-work experiences, ability to get along with people, engaging personality, and attractive appearance; as undesirable: poor personality, physical deformities, emotional disturbances, limited command of English, poor oral reading, obvious speech defects. Other speech deficiencies are checked by the oral-reading test.

Interviews last from about 15 to 45 minutes depending upon the interest in the candidate and the ability of committee members to reach a decision. The interviewing committee is given no information about the candidate prior to the meeting.

Executive Committee on Admissions

Next, the Executive Committee on Admissions, composed of the president of the college, the dean of the college, the superintendent of the practice teaching, the dean of women, the chairman of the student standing committee, the chairman of the department of education, and the director of admissions, gives consideration to all factors pertaining to an applicant. On a comparative data basis, each member independently records his judgment as to whether the applicant should be accepted or rejected. If there is a difference of opinion, as indicated by even one member's negative decision, the applicant is discussed by the entire committee until a common agreement is reached.

In considering applications, the committee on admissions, in general, holds to these standards: minimum scholastic record in the upper half of the class, recommendation by the highschool principal, 60th percentile or above on the examination, successful personal interview, and a satisfactory thoro physical examination. The committee tries to balance all the information rather than to allow any one factor to be predominant.

For example, an individual might have achieved a good record during the last two years of highschool, but his total record might be slightly below the top half of the class. If the highschool principal recommends admission and the test scores are good, the fact that the total score is below the midpoint of the class may not always bar the student from entrance. At this point in the admission process, the student is admitted on a conditional basis pending completion of his highschool course and a satisfactory medical report from a state-appointed physician.

Due to the shortage of elementary teachers at the present time, the Connecticut teachers colleges admit, where facilities permit, all students

who meet admission standards. It should be pointed out, however, that in years past, when the demand for teachers was more modest, limited quotas were established by the state board of education. Under such restrictions, still higher selective admission standards were imposed.

Other Evaluations

At one other point in the teacher-candidate's college program is the selective-admission process exercised. Prior to completion of their sophomore year of general education, students may apply for admission to the junior year of professional teacher education. To be eligible, candidates must have completed two full years of work, have earned an acceptable credit point average (at least a C or better), and be approved by the English department (speech, command of English, and reading skills).

Upon receipt of a student's application for the professional-education course, the admissions office asks six members of the faculty, representing four different departments, to rate the student on his qualifications for teaching. The Committee on Student Standing and Graduation then considers each application individually and recommends qualified candidates to the president, who approves or disapproves of the committee's action.

Possibly the most practical and valid evaluation of the student's capacity to teach is made at the time of senior student teaching, when the final sifting takes place in Connecticut's selective-admissions program.

In a comprehensive guidance program which is continuous thruout the four years, a consistent and conscientious effort is made by thoughtful and devoted faculty members to plan a student-life program which will provide for personal satisfactions and adequacy in everyday living.²

At Syracuse University an attempt has been made since 1934 to perfect a plan of selecting prospective teachers.

The process of selection today has become increasingly one of guidance. There is a definite attempt to make contact with the student in the pre-selection period so that he may examine the demands of the profession and his own potentialities in relation to these demands before he makes application to the School of Education in the second term of his sophomore year. There is still time at this point for him to shift into another program without loss of credit if his interests and abilities are not compatible with the teaching profession. The College of Liberal Arts co-

² Finis E. Engleman and Viola M. Larson, "Selective Admission to the Teaching Profession," *Journal of the National Education Association*, February, 1950, pp. 94-95.

operates by assigning to members of the School of Education staff for advisement during the first two years all those entering freshmen who indicate teaching as their first vocational choice. That college has also authorized a course in Orientation to the Profession of Teaching which may be taken by second-term freshmen and by sophomores. The course taught by the chairman of the committee on selection furnishes a situation in which the student may assess his abilities and interests in light of the responsibilities and opportunities of the profession and gives him a much more adequate introduction to the faculty of the School of Education. A third way in which a prospective candidate may gain some assurance concerning his ability to meet the criteria for admission to the School of Education before time for dual application is to make preliminary application and submit his credentials as a second-term freshman or first-term sophomore. The student is apprised of any possible deficiencies in meeting the standards and is given definite recommendations concerning remedial steps which he may take to eliminate them; or, if his deficiencies are too numerous or too acute, he may be guided into another area.

During the second term of his sophomore year the student makes application for dual enrollment to the School of Education. Under the dual system he retains enrollment in his college of initial registration and becomes simultaneously an enrollee in the School of Education if accepted. At the time of application he fills out the necessary forms requesting clearance through the infirmary and through the offices of his personnel and academic deans. He gives information concerning his campus affiliation, extracurricular activities, and work experience as well as a rather extended statement as to why he wishes to enter the teaching profession. He fills out a schedule of his classes and work activities so that interviews may be arranged for him.

Each candidate has two individual interviews—one with the dual professor in his field of specialization and one with the chairman of the committee on selection. Each records his general impression of the student and rates on a five-point scale his voice, physical appearance, grooming, speaking ability, initiative, social intelligence, and emotional balance. Each also records comments on any feature of the candidate's background that he believes will be either an asset or a drawback to him in teaching. Each candidate is asked to report for a group interview. Ten or twelve candidates meet for fifty minutes with four or five members of the faculty in an informal situation where easy chairs are arranged in a circle. Faculty members are intermingled among the students. Every effort is made to help the student feel at ease and free to talk about such things as

his hobbies, his experience, his work in the university, and what he hopes to do by entering the teaching profession. There is very little attempt made by the leader of the group to direct discussion into specific channels once he has defined the purpose of the meeting. Some groups devolve into bull sessions concerning the problems facing the world and education today; others are completely devoted to autobiographical discussions; some do not get beyond the question and answer stage. At the beginning of the session, the faculty members are supplied with a seating plan so that names and faces may be associated. In the ten minutes before the next group enters, a quick independent rating is made of each student by each faculty member who notes particularly outstanding strengths and weaknesses in his ability to conduct himself with others, his acceptance or rejection of others, his ability to communicate ideas, his flexibility and clarity of thinking, and his general poise and lack of constriction in social situations. It is recognized that this is a quick judgment and is significant only as it substantiates or disproves other test and report data or as there is unanimity of judgment by the faculty.

The testing battery consists of the following: the American Council on Education Test of Academic Aptitude; the Cooperative General Culture Test, including social problems, history, literature, science, fine arts, and mathematics; the Cooperative Reading Test, yielding scores in vocabulary, speed, and level of comprehension; a test of vocational interest—the Strong Vocational Interest Inventory for the men and the Kuder Preference Test for the women; and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory. One member of the selection committee is a clinical psychologist, who interprets the Personality Inventory results. The personnel dean reports any deviations found on the Bell Adjustment Inventory which the student took as a freshman.

Once the data have been gathered, the next step is the summarizing of all information concerning each student on a single sheet of paper so that one may more readily see the relationships among all phases of information—testing results, interview reports, academic achievement, health, extracurricular activities. Discrepancies in the total picture are revealed oftentimes and the possible reasons made apparent by a mere assembling of data on one sheet. For example, a discrepancy between excellent potential ability and marginal achievement may show up on the summary sheet. This may be explained by a health problem reported by the Student Health Office; by a disturbed emotional picture revealed by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory; by a lack of ease in social situation observable in the group interview; by poorly defined vocational objectives brought out in the individual interview, in the test

results, or in the statement of reasons for wanting to go into teaching; by a poor academic adjustment in the first two years reported by the personnel dean; or by a combination of several of these.

When all the data have been gathered and summarized, the committee on selection is ready to make decisions. The committee is composed of three constant members from the faculty of the School of Education and the major adviser in the area of specialization of those candidates under consideration. All of the material is presented to the committee, along with any further information that anyone has concerning the candidate. The clinical psychologist of the committee gives interpretations of the Minnesota Multiphasic in light of the other data assembled. Time is planned so that full consideration may be given to each case and recommendations may be made. In some instances candidates show strengths but also weaknesses, causing the committee to believe that admission should be deferred until remedial steps have been taken; or admission may be granted with the provision that the candidate will seek help concurrently with initial work in education. Syracuse is very fortunate in its resources for referral. Students with poor reading ability or study habits have been salvaged through the program for the improvement of learning offered by the reading clinic. Those with evidences of conflict and anxiety have been helped through further diagnosis, generally through the Rorschach and a program of individual or group psychotherapy provided in the Mental Hygiene Service. Those who do not demonstrate adequate conviction concerning their desire to teach are referred to the vocational counselors in the office of the personnel dean or to the Veterans Administration for further consideration of their aptitudes. Those who indicate concern about health and physical stamina or who have been unable to meet their obligations during the first two years because of health are referred to the university doctor for further examination or medical advice concerning their potentialities for meeting the day-by-day rigors of teaching. Those who have had no experience in working with young people try out their interest through group social service activities sponsored by the chapel program. Those with speech difficulties—defects, dialect, regionalism, or just sloppy speech habits—are referred to the speech clinic for remedial advice and help. The value of the resources of the large university and the ease with which these resources can be made available to the student through the all-university organization of the School of Education are factors which facilitate the process of teacher selection and guidance beyond all power to evaluate.³

³ Verna White, "Selection of Prospective Teachers at Syracuse University," *Journal of Teacher Education*, March, 1950, pp. 25-27.

Whatever the plan employed, the selective process should be continuous. The evidence available when a student enters college is insufficient for wise judgment. Furthermore, changes in personal qualifications occur after admittance. Some students overcome initial deficiencies, while others develop undesirable traits or fail to make the expected growth. Accordingly, elimination and redirection of a student should be possible at any time.

Responsibility for guidance should rest not with the personnel department alone, but with the entire staff. All teachers should collect pertinent data about students, and all should share in the guidance program.

Moreover, students should have a voice in making decisions concerning themselves. If they understand what is required for success in teaching and can consider evidence bearing on their own competence or promise, they are likely to take responsibility for deciding how to proceed.

The Commission on Teacher Education attaches considerable weight to practice in self-analysis and self-education for a prospective teacher. The Commission believes that "it develops his ability to understand his own motivations and work out plans for satisfying them in ways consistent with professional success; it promotes his skill in the identification of problems and the location and use of resources relevant to the solution thereof; and it predisposes him to treat his own students, later on, with the same respect that he has enjoyed. Initiative and self-reliance, rather than docility and dependence, are fostered."

If selection is to accomplish its purpose, teachers and public alike should support leaders who are endeavoring to establish and enforce high standards. A timely effort in this direction is being made by the National Education Association through its Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. Eventually we may succeed in spreading the idea that admission to a teacher-preparing institution is a privilege, not a right. Consideration of the welfare of pupils rather than the candidates' desire for teacher education must be paramount.

TEACHER PREPARATION

Teacher-education colleges have a responsibility for providing programs designed to develop the academic, professional, and social

competences deemed essential for teachers. Both curricular and extracurricular experiences may contribute to these outcomes.

We shall consider first some aspects of programs which are planned to contribute to academic and professional rather than to social competences. However, since no hard and fast line separates these competences, the same experiences often contribute to more than one outcome.

Programs ordinarily include (1) academic courses to provide broad cultural contacts with various fields of learning, (2) academic courses to provide specialization in specific subjects or fields or in work at specific levels such as the primary grades, (3) professional courses including professional laboratory experience, and (4) experiences to promote satisfactory personal growth.

ACADEMIC EDUCATION

Since every teacher should have sound scholarship and broad, general culture, his education should acquaint him with the major fields of human interest and knowledge. He should be a truly educated person who can imbue others with a love of learning. As Henry Suzzallo once wrote: "In the best modern and democratic sense the new type of teacher must be a thoroughgoing humanist regardless of his special field of scholarship. . . . He will need to be a civilized person if he is to bring all the resources of civilization to bear upon the youth, which is to say that he will be liberally educated. There are too many academic specialists in our public schools who know very much about a field of study and nothing much about the wide ranges which make up the rest of life."

Although schools have all manner of plans for giving academic education, two of the most common provisions are (1) "liberal education," which emphasizes cultural or humanized aspects of certain fields; and (2) "general education," which stresses common understandings and skills required in effective living.

Liberal Education. Traditionally teacher-education institutions have included some provision for liberal education in their curriculums. The term liberal has a wide connotation. Chapman and Counts explain it in this way:

Since the college is only incidentally a place of preparation for vocational efficiency, it must be judged mainly by the extent to which those

who engage in its activities are being liberalized. For many reasons there is need at the present time to stress those values which are inherent in the very name of the institution—the college of liberal arts. The word “liberal” in its most obvious meaning, as applied to education, has a wide connotation. It signifies a generous and plentiful training, a training that frees from ignorance, superstition, dogmatism and narrowness in ideas, doctrines, or sympathies. To be liberal is to be free, to be liberated, to believe in the extension of freedom in educational, political, social, religious, and other institutions. It is something dependent upon knowledge, yet of a different order. Knowledge is but one element in the making of a “free-man.” An individual is liberated not by information and by great learning, but rather by an attitude toward life. To be able to see two sides of a question, to realize ignorance, to appreciate expert service, to feel an abiding obligation to study and direct the course of social life, to be public spirited, to recognize the claims of national and international obligations, these are the hall-marks of the man whose education has made him free. Only as our colleges submit their students to broad, generous, and humane learning, calculated to foster these virtues, can they hope to send forth free citizens. Only as men and women of this temper take their places in the Great Society with a fixed determination to cleave to that which is good and to shun that which is evil, can any hope be held out for a more secure and humane world.⁴

That every person needs a liberal education because he is a human being was well stated in a radio address by Dr. Stringfellow Barr, late president of St. John's College, Annapolis.

Not every citizen's occupation requires advanced training in a vocational school. It may require only experience and the power to think well about that experience. But every citizen requires a liberal education in order that he may think well—not merely that he may think well about the occupation which he, but not all men, follows, but that he may think well about the common problems which confront all citizens of a free society, whether in war or in peace. No slave should receive a liberal education, whether he be a serf, a chattel slave, a wage slave, or the subject of a totalitarian state. Slaves should be given vocational training, for slaves are not men in the full sense, but tools of other men. In a slave society, only the masters should be liberally educated. But

⁴ J. Crosby Chapman and George S. Counts, *Principles of Education*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924, pp. 486-487.

in a free society education in the liberal arts is the right and the necessity of every citizen. . . . In war, as in peace, we cannot afford a stupid citizenry.

General Education. In recent years traditional provisions for liberal education have been modified in some colleges by the general education movement. Gaining a foothold in universities like Harvard and Minnesota, the general education idea spread to other schools, including teachers colleges.

The Harvard Report defines general education as "that part of a student's whole education which looks first of all to his life as a responsible human being and citizen." It should contribute to his abundant living regardless of his special role in economic and social life.

Since prospective teachers have personal and social problems similar to those of other people, their general education should be essentially the same as that of all other college students. For a teacher, general education serves the twofold purpose of developing him as a "worthy member of society" and as a "worthy deputy of society." "Fundamentally, therefore," says Cottrell, "a good program of general education for the American teacher will be expected to equip him to improve the professional situation in which he works, to take his place as a citizen of democracy, to exemplify the personal virtues he advocates, and to contribute to the advancement of the work of his professional guild toward the general social welfare."

Organization for general education falls into three chief types: departmental, divisional, and functional.

In the departmental type of organization each department is expected to make a contribution in its subject-matter field to the general education program. Courses in English composition, English literature, history, foreign languages, psychology, physical education, and economics are commonly included in the general education program.

In the divisional plan artificial departmental boundaries are broken down by placing a number of subject-matter fields in each division. Under this type of organization survey courses have been developed particularly in literature, social sciences, natural sciences, and art.

Current survey courses differ strikingly from the earlier ones.

Emphasis on compressed sections of introductory courses with memorization of large amounts of factual material and technical terminology has been replaced by intensive study of a few problems. Students derive generalizations and gain genuine comprehension of principles.

Under the functional plan of organization general education cuts across narrow subject-matter areas to give a view of the whole field of human experience. The philosophy is that "basic general courses, particularly if required of all students, be considered not the private affair of certain departments, but a framework within which all the resources of the institution should be brought to bear upon topics of central importance." Materials chosen for their relevance to the analysis and solution of contemporary problems are drawn from all fields that may make a significant contribution. While they do not give the traditional systematic introduction to a specific subject, they are nevertheless well organized and meaningful. Although this plan is not yet widely used, it is considered very promising.

Since functional organization is flexible enough to permit attention to individual needs, it is linked with the student-needs approach. General education programs at San Francisco State College are organized in keeping with a student-needs point of view. They fall into four broad areas: (1) development of the individual, (2) home and family living, (3) choice of occupation or profession in line with the student's abilities and interests, (4) development of the individual as a citizen in a democratic society.

The program offered at San Francisco consists of forty-five units, most of which are covered in the first two years. However, requirements are flexible. The student draws up his own program in consultation with the counseling staff. The staff feels that "effective general education requires maximum *integration* of content to provide for the clarification of relationships among the various course offerings in general education. Integration is made difficult, even impossible, to attain when *separate* courses serve as the sole basis for the presentation of the content of general education."

The time given to general education usually follows one of two patterns—a two-year program or a four-year program.

The most common plan for administering general education in teacher-preparing institutions is to devote the first two years of college

work almost exclusively to it, and the next two years to specialized education. Lovinger lists four reasons for the widespread use of this plan. First, many teachers colleges serve as junior colleges for students who do not expect to teach but who plan to transfer to other institutions. In order to have credits that will transfer, a student's work must be in general education. Second, the plan makes it possible to screen at the end of the sophomore year without any loss of time for those who are not allowed to continue in teacher education. Third, it permits students to transfer from junior colleges to teacher-preparing institutions at the end of two years without loss of time. Fourth, it conforms to the traditional organization of general education.

In spite of the fact that the two-year program is often used, many educators do not approve of it. They believe that "the basic task of the undergraduate program is to bring together in working relationship the resources of liberal arts education and professional (i.e., teacher) education."

The four-year program is recommended by the Commission on Teacher Education. "While elements of general education may well predominate during the first two college years they should neither monopolize nor be limited to this period: some educational experiences related to vocational purposes should be provided as soon as the latter are formed; and the idea that general education may be considered as completed at some particular time should not be encouraged." Although the pedagogical advantages of offering general and specialized education at the same time are convincing, for practical considerations many colleges will doubtless concentrate general studies in the first two years.

If four years of college are allotted to teacher education, the authors of the National Survey of the Education of Teachers in 1933 recommend that at least 25 percent of the time should be spent on general education. The final report of the Commission on Teacher Education recommended that at least three-eighths of the college experience for prospective teachers should be general in content. Since this agrees with the recommendation of the Harvard Committee, it seems to indicate agreement that the time devoted to general education should be the same for prospective teachers as for other students.

The quality of general education depends on the school. There are numerous hindrances to a superlative program. First, college teachers are usually so highly specialized that they do not have the breadth of training necessary for participating in a successful general education program. Second, they are often jealous of other departments and are unwilling to cooperate with them in developing general courses. Third, they know that the basis for promotion is usually the amount of work published, not the amount of cooperation or the quality of teaching. Accordingly, they prefer to give their time to research rather than to organizing or teaching general education courses. Fourth, subject-matter specialists and professional educators are often in conflict. "Wherever you find colleges educating teachers," says Morrison, "there you are likely to find guerrilla warfare. In some institutions it is well organized. In others it consists of sniping and counter-sniping on the part of the faculty members whose viewpoints differ." Fifth, students with well-defined vocational or professional plans may feel frustrated if their first two years in college are dedicated almost entirely to general education courses. Sixth, appropriate teaching materials have not yet been assembled. Seventh, there are no valid and reliable instruments with which to determine the extent to which the objectives of general education are being achieved.

Specialized Education. All teacher-education colleges agree on the necessity for comprehensive specialization in the teaching field or fields. However, the nature and scope of this specialization are not uniform. For prospective high-school teachers specialization in particular subjects or fields is obligatory; from 24 to 36 semester hours are usually stipulated in a given subject or field. In some colleges prospective secondary teachers are expected to have only one major field, but in others they may have two major fields, or a major and a minor, or a major and two minors.

Programs quite unlike those ordinarily prescribed for secondary-school teachers are urged by leaders concerned with modifying the existing high-school programs. Preparation in broad fields corresponding to the major areas taught in secondary schools is recommended.

The breadth of preparation necessary for a core teacher is indicated by a list of competences drawn up by the John Dewey Society.

1. The core teacher should be able to sense and help solve the problems faced by individual boys and girls.
2. The core teacher should be able to relate the more common problems and concerns of youth to the larger social setting with its values, problems, and achievements.
3. The core teacher should be able to function as a group leader working with his students.
4. The core teacher should be able to relate community conditions and resources to the education of youth.
5. The core teacher should be able to draw upon and use effectively major general resources of scholarship needed to understand and deal with the more common and persistent personal-social problems and concerns of youth.
6. The core teacher should be able to guide youth in the selection of educational activities which foster continuous all-round development.
7. The core teacher should be able to guide youth in the wise selection of an occupation.⁵

At Ohio State University a graduate seminar undertook an exploratory study of programs for the preservice preparation of core teachers. As a result, the following program was proposed:

General Education. In order to prepare core teachers within the general framework of present teacher education programs, the group proposed a basic requirement of approximately one hundred quarter hours in four broad fields as follows: (1) The Social Studies, (2) The Arts, (3) The Humanities, (4) The Natural Sciences. This requirement, a substitute for the present requirements of majors and minors, is justified on the grounds that the core teacher needs to be familiar with the major fields of knowledge.

Professional Education. In addition to the general courses now usually included in the preparation of the high school teacher, and as a substitute for the usual special methods courses and student teaching in a major field, three new courses were proposed for the students who are preparing for core work. The content of these courses was derived from the nine special competencies listed above. The following are the proposed courses:

1. Introduction to Teaching in the Core Curriculum. (Approximately four quarter hours.) This course would deal with such topics as these:

⁵Hollis L. Caswell (ed.), *The American High School: Its Responsibility and Opportunity*, Eighth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. 189-195.

1. Philosophies of education and psychologies of learning in their relationship to the core program.
 2. The history and the development of the core concept in American secondary education.
 3. The different types of core programs and the relationships of these programs to the total school curriculum.
 4. The responsibilities of the core teacher in understanding and meeting the problems associated with home-school-community relationships.
 5. The use by the teacher of guidance and counseling techniques in the core class.
 6. Understanding group dynamics and establishing the appropriate relationships among high school pupils necessary for successful work in the core class.
- II. The Development of Materials for Core Teaching. (Approximately eight quarter hours credit.) This course would deal with such topics as these:
1. Techniques of identifying common adolescent needs, interests, and concerns.
 2. Techniques of organizing common problem areas to be used in the core program.
 3. Developing resource units in terms of the established problem areas.
 4. Techniques for developing learning units from resource units.
- III. Student Teaching and Practicum. (Approximately fifteen quarter hours.) For the student teaching experience, assignments should involve working with a core class for two or three hours each school day. Students should work with the regular core teacher under the supervision of the instructor of the practicum. In the practicum, students will have experiences in planning learning units, selecting reading materials, previewing audio-visual aids, making arrangements for trips, contacting speakers, and engaging in other activities related to the problems of core teaching. The practicum will also give special attention to problems of counseling, writing reports to parents, handling accumulative records, using special area consultants, evaluating procedures, all of which involve techniques of cooperative planning and working with other teachers in coordinating all the learning activities of the core group. Institutions, organizations, and agencies of the community will be investigated in terms of their contributions to the development of learning units.⁶

⁶ Harold Alberty, "Core Teachers for Secondary Schools—A Study," *Educational Leadership*, November, 1949, pp. 100-101.

The best type of specialized preparation for elementary teachers is an open question. According to Gray of the University of Chicago, "In many cases 'elementary education' is adopted as the field of concentration which may or may not include specific academic courses. In probably a majority of the cases a sequence of professionalized subject matter is required paralleling a sequence of general courses in education. In still other cases a major, a major and a minor, or two minors are required in academic fields. A final plan involves a careful selection of courses which extend general or liberal education into specific areas of greatest value to elementary school teachers, such as United States history as an extension of the social science area."

The major difficulty in planning a program for preparing elementary teachers stems from the fact that school officials frequently expect and want the impossible. They expect an elementary teacher to be prepared in every basic and special subject of the elementary curriculum and to be competent in areas of child growth and development and in human relations to an extent that would require training equal to that of a psychologist, a psychiatrist, a social worker, and a trained nurse.

Ashbaugh has given timely warning that we should call a halt to ever-increasing demands for more and more varied knowledge and more and more varied skills and abilities on the part of elementary teachers.

The present demands of scholastic competency in almost all fields of knowledge, the insistence upon practical efficiency in such varied areas as psychology, social welfare, health, nutrition, nursing, etc., all sum up to a manifest impossibility of the attainment of a product of which we have a right to be proud. That our present graduates of teacher training institutions have a bit of acquaintance in a great variety of fields, that they are as emotionally stable, as socially adaptable, as willing to undertake the task as they are is a great compliment to the young people themselves and to the efforts of the teacher training institutions. I question seriously as to whether it is any compliment to those who develop the philosophy of education which calls for such an extensive program of both knowledge and skill.⁷

⁷ E. J. Ashbaugh, "A Growing Problem in Elementary Education," *Educational Forum*, May, 1947, pp. 416, 427.

Ashbaugh advises that we furnish to elementary teachers the supplementary services of welfare workers, physicians, psychologists, psychiatrists, nurses, and nutritionists. He believes that unless such provision is made, "we are headed for an ever-increasing dearth of good elementary teachers because the most intelligent young people will not undertake the impossible task which is demanded of them."⁸

The problem of preparation is complicated by the current trend toward issuing one general certificate which authorizes its holder to teach at both elementary and secondary levels. For such certification a type of program wherein elementary and secondary teachers follow the same pattern of preparation is set up. Engleman has clearly presented some of the implications of this plan:

The program of teacher preparation leading to such broad certification is commonly called the dual-purpose curriculum. As it is defined or interpreted by some, it might better be called a multi-purpose or all-purpose curriculum. Careful experimentation by selected institutions using such a curriculum can throw much needed light on the problem. As I interpret it, the dual-purpose teacher education idea, depending upon the comprehensiveness of the program, can be good or evil. It would seem obvious that there are certain common elements, both cultural and professional, in the pre-service education of the teacher of chemistry and the teacher of kindergarten. It is equally obvious that these same teachers would need different preparation in terms of academic knowledge as well as professional skills, techniques, and competencies.

It might well be pointed out that common general education would seem feasible for all, but that there is equal need for differentiation in programs to care for individual needs and interests. Even though time would be gained by identifying all the common areas of the teacher education curriculum, it is apparent that the program of preparation of the person who is to be certified for all areas of educational service must be very comprehensive and long. In as short a time as four years, certainly it would be impossible to prepare with even a minimum program the person who would teach all age levels and all fields. An analysis of what is involved in teaching at all levels and in all fields would reveal the need for a great range of knowledge and competencies not quickly attainable. If time could be taken to give all these skills and understandings, the multi-purpose program would be sound. Surely, he who

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

understood and had skill in curriculum materials, human development, and techniques of instruction in fields of knowledge pertinent to all grade and subject levels would tend to be more effective in any one.

Let us repeat, however, that the preparation for such a comprehensive task is not simple. Unlike the general practitioner in the medical profession, the generalist in education, the person certified to teach all grades, is in reality assigned to a specialized task. He, therefore, needs to have much specialized preparation if his certification is to permit a wide range of assignments. Let us realize, therefore, that any scatter-load type of preparation will harm the profession of teaching, lead to innumerable failures, and result in irreparable harm to countless children. Teaching is at best a hazardous task for the learner. The double-purpose teacher education curriculum has merit if certain precautions are observed and real dangers if carelessly planned. First of all, the common elements of preparation, both professional and cultural, needed by a teacher at any grade level should be identified. Second, the differentiations or special competencies, both professional and cultural, needed by a teacher at any grade level should likewise be identified. An examination of the problems faced by teachers at extremes, such as kindergarten on the one hand and high school foreign language or industrial arts on the other, might be a good starting place for such an analysis.⁹

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

A third element in the preparation of teachers is education to develop professional competence. At the Third National Conference on Higher Education in 1949 a partial list of competences was formulated by a group that was considering the education of elementary- and secondary-school teachers. The list follows:

1. The ability to recognize and interpret the wide range of developmental patterns of children.
2. The ability to select and provide appropriate learning situations which will result in growth in desirable attitudes, skills, and knowledge.
3. The ability to stimulate democratic thinking and ways of living with groups of all kinds, including children.
4. The ability to use many and varied resources for problem solving in accordance with the best principles of learning and to develop this capacity in children.

⁹ Finis E. Engleman, "Some Issues and Problems in the Preparation of Teachers for Elementary and Secondary Schools," *National Conference on Higher Education*, 1950.

5. The ability to maintain an adequate educational "climate" in the classroom and in the school.
6. The ability to evaluate the growth of children in accordance with functional objectives of education.
7. The ability to work cooperatively with parents, social agencies, community groups, and others in interpreting education to these groups and in bringing their resources into the school program.
8. The ability to develop an adequate working philosophy of education.¹⁰

It goes without saying that acquiring professional competences calls for extended training. The Commission on Teacher Education recommends that "strictly professional elements should be allocated from one-eighth to one-sixth of the time available in a four- or five-year program of teacher preparation. It is to be recognized that there will be doubt as to whether some important elements should be classified as general or professional education and that acceptable integrations may be worked out that cause the professional block to appear to exceed or to fall short of this proportion."

Usually from 15 to 20 hours of professional courses including special methods and student teaching are required for high-school teachers, and from 20 to 30 hours for elementary teachers. Schools differ, however, in the specific content and organization of professional courses.

A current trend is to group significant topics of professional education into three or four large areas. This integration not only furnishes continuity of experience but also gives increased flexibility and variety.

Another trend is toward student participation in planning courses. This has a twofold advantage for future teachers. First, the students come to grips with democracy in action. They learn realistically how group processes operate. Since they are likely to teach as they have been taught rather than as they are taught to teach, they are likely to allow their own pupils to share in planning educational experiences. Second, they gain insight into the whole process of institutional planning; therefore, they are ready to cooperate

¹⁰ James H. Griggs, "Current Problems in the Preparation of Elementary and Secondary Teachers," *Current Trends in Higher Education, 1949*, National Education Association, 1949, p. 76.

in the affairs of their school when they begin their professional career.

The best time for professional education is a troublesome question. In some colleges it is scheduled after two years of general education; in others it is introduced at the beginning of college work and parallels it throughout. At its national meeting in 1949, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education voted for the inclusion of professional education as an integral part of each of the four years of college.

Professional Laboratory Experiences. Professional laboratory experiences represent a type of professional work that may profitably be incorporated into each of the four years of college. As defined by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the term refers to "all those contacts with children, youth, and adults which make a direct contribution to an understanding of individuals and their guidance in the teaching-learning process." Such experiences may be offered not only in professional but in academic courses. They should contribute to the clarification of concepts taught in various courses as well as to the personal growth of the student. They should include observations based on individual or class assignments or a combination of both. They should also afford participation in a wealth of activities with children in both school and community situations.

Students in a first-term sophomore course in education at the North Texas State College in Denton shared in seventeen kinds of experiences:¹¹

1. Taking part of first-grade children to walk while the room teacher gave a test to the others.
2. Accompanying first-grade children to the playground for free play.
3. Helping individual children with reading.
4. Assisting children with their Junior Red Cross boxes.
5. Helping to re-arrange the schoolroom.
6. Checking the children's workbooks.
7. Helping a child to write his class report for the school newspaper.
8. Preparing materials (papers, filing pictures, indexing books, etc.) for use in the schoolroom.

¹¹ Nellie L. Griffiths, "Some Pre-Student-Teaching Experiences," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, December, 1949, p. 492.

9. Typing report of test scores.
10. Helping to score standardized tests.
11. Taking materials to and visiting the Negro school.
12. Taking children on a "Field Trip" or walk.
13. Checking *Weekly Reader* "tests" and discussing them with the teacher.
14. Telling stories to the second-grade children.
15. Hectographing some poems for the fifth grade.
16. Helping to give some tests.
17. Checking arithmetic papers.

One phase of professional laboratory experiences is student teaching. This term is used to designate "a period of guided teaching when the student takes increasing responsibility for guiding the school experiences of a given group of learners over a period of consecutive weeks."

In many respects student teaching is the most vital part of a teacher's education. It has somewhat the same place as interning does in preparing for the medical profession. Only through supervised full-time work with pupils over a period of time can a student gain a sense of the many-sided parts of the teacher's total task.

The amount of time spent on student teaching is not uniform. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education recommends that full-time student teaching be given over a period long enough "to permit the student teacher to understand the growth of learners resulting from the guidance given. There is need for each student to stay with at least one laboratory situation for a period sufficiently long to see how activities develop and how learnings are extended and horizons widened. The student should stay with a laboratory situation long enough to see the growth emerge from cooperative efforts of teachers and learners so that he may know the satisfactions of teaching, know his strengths and weaknesses in guiding teaching-learning situations, and attain a functional understanding of the learning process."

A student teacher should take part in the major activities of a teacher both in and out of the classroom. He should learn the overall organization of the school; attend faculty meetings, parent-teacher meetings, school functions, clubs, athletic events, and dramatic productions; assist with extracurricular activities and play-

ground supervision; and enter into community life in general.

The plan implies scheduling programs so that a student will be free to teach for a number of weeks without interruption. The exact length of time and when it is called for depend on the college, the kind of laboratory experiences prior to student teaching, and the needs and individuality of the student himself.

Ordinarily student teaching comes near the close of training, usually in the senior year. However, since readiness is an individual matter, the particular assignment to teaching should be made when it best fits the student's needs. To determine readiness, some schools impose special conditions for admission to student teaching. In an investigation of 216 teacher-preparing institutions, McGrath found that some have no special standards but others have as many as fifteen. He suggests the following seven criteria for selection that could be used as a starting point in nearly all teacher-education colleges:

1. Successful report on a physical health examination.
2. Successful ratings on a battery of tests.
3. Written recommendations of at least three faculty members.
4. Satisfactory speech and hearing test.
5. Successful record of participatory experiences with youth groups.
6. Satisfactory grade point average, and meeting the graduation and certification requirements.
7. Committee action to consider all factors.

Student teaching may be carried on in schools on or off the campus. The campus school, the most common, should be an integral part of the college and should serve as a coördinating center of all its work. J. E. Windrow, Director of the Division of Public Services of George Peabody College for Teachers, aptly sets forth the relation that should exist between the college and a campus school:

If the teachers college would keep its own integrity, it should be able to say to the world at all times, "Come, this is my school, the professional center of all my efforts: (1) *Understand* its philosophy and ways of working; (2) *study* its curriculum, based on the vital interests and needs of its children; (3) *observe* its teachers, who are the best classroom artists the nation affords; (4) *consider* its organization and administration, whose success is measured in results, not machinery; whose schedules are designed to serve, not control; whose faith in democratic human re-

lations is real, not verbal; (5) *meet its parents*, who have a vital interest in the contemporary world and the building of a better society; (6) *see* its program of guidance, which is concerned with helping children discover their needs, develop their life purposes, formulate plans of action, and proceed to their realization; (7) *view* its physical environment, which is both pleasing and comfortable, made so through the intelligent effort and cooperative planning of its faculty, students, parents, and community; (8) *appreciate* this miniature democracy, wherein pupils, teachers, and parents work together to solve their common problems; where learning activities literally teem with opportunities for critical thinking; where children are required to face facts and do what they do in the face of facts; where decisions are made and responsibilities assumed; where fundamental honesty and social concern are the guiding principles of daily living; where the whole community provides a laboratory for learning; where children and teachers are led out into the stream of life and find the security which comes with an awareness and understanding of the things around them."¹²

The trend, however, is toward using public schools as well as campus schools. An advantage of the off-campus school, of course, is that it provides lifelike teaching situations that the student will encounter when he is teaching in the public schools.

Discriminating selection of off-campus schools for student teaching is of the essence. The school should be willing to coöperate whole-heartedly with the off-campus program. It should have master teachers with sympathetic attitudes toward preservice education for teachers and a willingness to learn the skills and techniques needed in supervising student teachers. It should have an adequate curriculum adapted to pupil and community needs.

A timely caution concerning the use of off-campus schools is given by Windrow:

The teachers college should use the public schools; recognizing, of course, that their creation, responsibility, and control have been achieved by others. Use them, yes, but not because they represent what has been so frequently referred to as a natural situation. Is there validity in the "natural situation argument"? Do we mean by "natural situation" an "average situation"? If a natural situation represents mediocrity, is it

¹² J. E. Windrow, "The Function and Future of the Laboratory School," *Professional Laboratory Experiences*, Twenty-Seventh Yearbook, Association for Student Teaching, 1948, pp. 88-89.

the mission of the teachers college to perpetuate mediocrity? Certainly it has an obligation to know about it and to change it, but not to indorse it. Is it not the mission of the teachers college to *change* "natural situations"? Is it not true that some natural situations represent the greatest menace to American society? Poverty and disease could conceivably be a natural situation. Certainly the public schools should be used in teacher education but not necessarily because they present a natural, typical, or average situation. They should be used to the extent that they contribute to the general competency of young teachers who are about to enter the most important of all professions.¹³

Although many colleges which train teachers offer no professional laboratory experiences beyond student teaching, there is growing recognition of their practicality. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education states three purposes that can be served by these experiences: "(a) to permit students to do more intensive work in areas of special interest or competence; (b) to make it possible to strengthen shortage areas; and (c) to help students gain a new over-view of the larger school situation and to study the inter-relationships of its various parts."

The Association believes that the nature and extent of the laboratory work that follows student teaching should be decided on the basis of individual needs. "For some the work will be largely observation, for others direct teaching; for some there will be many short contacts, for others an extended period of work in a single situation; for some the experiences will be largely within the school situation, for others chiefly in the community. For some such laboratory contacts will be extensive; for others they will be a resource to be used occasionally."

A valuable form of professional laboratory experience after student teaching is internship. The term refers to a period of teaching carried on with the approval and close supervision of a teacher-education institution. During this period the intern assumes the activities of responsible teaching, with frequent counsel from the college staff and from supervisors and teachers of the school system in which he is interning. Although internship is often limited to students who are seeking an advanced degree, it is sometimes available for undergraduate students.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education mentions these major values of internship: "(a) continuity between pre-service and in-service education; (b) gradual induction as a member of a school staff with part-supervision by those who know the beginning teacher; (c) more effective placement for work; (d) opportunity for the college to study the effectiveness of its work and make needed curricular modifications."

Bishop's study of the activities of intern teachers throws light on the problem. He asked a jury of thirty-six specialists in teacher-education to contribute the theoretical viewpoint. He asked representatives of fifty-nine teacher-education institutions that have internship to supply data on the practical aspects of their programs. Each group was asked to check a list of statements descriptive of the activities of interns. The jury was asked to indicate the *most important* and the *important* activities in which an intern should engage; representatives of the fifty-nine institutions were asked to check the activities in which an intern actually does engage. Table 19 shows the results.

The jury was also asked to indicate the number of hours per week that an intern should spend on various duties. The representatives of the fifty-nine teacher-education institutions were asked to estimate the amount of time their interns actually give to similar duties. Table 20 presents the results.

People hold diverse opinions concerning the feasibility of course work during internship. Those who favor the intern's participation in campus classes and seminars stress the advantage of combining theoretical with practical work. Those who oppose it emphasize the importance of concentrating time and interest exclusively on teaching. In Bishop's study, seventeen of the thirty-six jury responses and thirty-three of the fifty-nine institution responses favored no course work during internship.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL COMPETENCES

Social competences cannot be neatly separated from the academic and professional. All must be interlaced in a meaningful way. Shaped by the sum total of a person's experiences, social development goes on continuously and inevitably. Primarily from "liberal" or "general" education a student derives productive ideas, sets

TABLE 19. Desirable Activities of Interns Advocated by the Jury Compared to Actual Activities Reported by the Institutions¹⁴

Activity	Rank Order	
	Jury	Institutions
Plan units of work or study	1	2
Participate in the extracurricular program as an essential part of teaching	2	3
Become acquainted with the local community and participate in its activities	3	4
Counsel and guide pupils	4.5	10
Observe the teaching of many different types and grade levels of instruction	4.5	6.5
Attend staff meetings	6	5
Participate in cultural, religious, and social activities of the community	7	13.5
Become acquainted with the duties of specialist on the staff (such as nurse, counselor)	8	13.5
Participate in an organized program of reading for self-improvement	10.5	17
Make daily lesson plans and programs of study	10.5	1
Conduct individual help sessions	10.5	8.5
Aid in organizing visual-audio aids	10.5	15
Handle problems of pupil discipline	13.5	8.5
Serve on professional committees	13.5	20
Become an active member of the professional teachers organization	15.5	21
Supervise study	15.5	6.5
Administer tests and measurements	17	17
Organize and arrange bulletin boards and displays	18	11
Participate in administrative tasks	19	19
Keep a professional diary	20	17
Perform clerical duties	21	12
Develop a piece of research	22	22

of beliefs, ethical views, and spiritual values which become part of his inner life and mold his personality. The plans mentioned at this point, however, contribute not so much to deep inner meanings as to external or social behavior. The need for taking social development into account is evident when we investigate the background of prospective teachers.

On the basis of her study of 1080 women students in fifteen representative teachers colleges in various sections of the United States

¹⁴ Clifford L. Bishop, "The Activities of Intern Teachers," *School and Society*, July 30, 1949, p. 69.

TABLE 20. Desirable Distribution of Duties of Interns Advocated by the Jury Compared to Actual Duties Reported by the Institutions¹⁵

Duties	Hours per Week			
	Jury		Institutions	
	Range	Median	Range	Median
Actual teaching	3-24	10	3-32	15
Observation	0-10	5	0-18	5
College and university classes, seminars, activities	0-15	3	0-13	0
Community activities and participation	0-8	2	0-10	1
Conferences with supervisors	0-6	2	0-8	2
Club or extracurricular work	0-10	2	0-5	1
Individual pupil aid	0-7	2	0-5	2
Group or committee meetings	0-5	1	0-7	0
Community surveys	0-5	1	0-5	0
Problem courses in teaching certain subjects	0-3	0	0-9	0
Office or clerical work	0-5	0	0-5	0

in 1929, Moffett drew a composite picture of the typical student who is preparing for teaching. This picture bears out the statement that teachers are recruited from the middle class. To quote:

To see this student is to see a nineteen-year-old daughter of a family of the middle group of the great "middle class" of American society. Her father is a manager of a small business, a skilled workman, or a farmer, with an income of \$2,305. Her mother keeps house. Their children are all forced by economic necessity to make their own living. The student differs only in choice of vocation from her sister, who may become a stenographer, a nurse, or a business clerk. She chooses to be a teacher, she goes to a teachers college within her native state, to prepare for this profession. She brings as a setting for her training a background comparable to that of the middle American; her life has been lived in an area the radius of which has taken her not more than 100 to 200 miles from home. Her work day has been filled with housework in a six-room house, which is fairly well furnished according to the standards of the small town or rural community in which she has been reared. She has four brothers and sisters who, with herself and her parents, have been happy in their family life. She has completed the general curriculum in a small high school, where her chief sources of

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

enjoyment were class day, picnics, amateur plays, basketball games, and graduation night. She has visited one large city, where she remained less than ten days. Her major contacts with art have been in school buildings, stores, or her own home. In 50.5 percent of these homes there are no copies of the master-pieces of art. Her contacts with music have been by means of the radio and phonograph in addition to that produced by local talent. She is a regular church attendant and has heard a few of the representative evangelists and churchmen of her denomination. She has not heard, except over the radio, any of the nationally known leaders of thought.

Her leisure activities have been those afforded by a weekly visit to the motion pictures; association with a small circle of friends in a community where she knows nearly every one; occasional picnics, informal parties, and dances; such physical exercise as walking, driving an automobile, some swimming and tennis playing; idle conversation; the daily scanning of the newspaper, reading of the *American Magazine*, *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Saturday Evening Post*, and the reading of a light novel or other literature in book form less often than once a month.¹⁶

That the classes from which the students who may later become teachers are recruited have not changed is shown by a study of high-school seniors conducted by the American Council on Education in 1947. Whereas only 5 or 6 percent of the sons of professional men and executives, small business proprietors, white-collar workers, and people in the service trades hoped to teach, 9 percent of the farmers' sons and 14 percent of the sons of factory and other workers wanted to become teachers. In the case of girls, 31 percent of the daughters of factory and other workers wished to teach; 25 percent of the daughters of farmers and of members of the service trades tied for second place; the girls whose fathers worked in all other occupations constituted 21 percent.

Drawn as they are from middle-income groups, often from rural areas and often with limited social experiences, many students in teacher-education colleges fit a description written by a faculty member of a midwestern teachers college: "The word 'provincial' might well be applied to most of the members of each entering class. Hence the students are lacking in many of those qualities necessary

¹⁶ M'Ledge Moffett, *The Social Background and Activities of Teachers College Students*, Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 375, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929, p. 19.

for successful teaching, qualities too often taken for granted, to wit: a knowledge of how to dress, how to speak, how to eat, how to employ leisure time, how to mix socially, and how to study. Too many students are bashful; too many students are inert; and far too many students lack the drive to achieve even mediocrity."

For promoting social growth, colleges have programs whose form depends on community and college facilities and the policies of the personnel staff. Some colleges provide curricular offerings in the form of special courses in social adjustment or of units in fields like home economics and physical education. Illinois State Normal University has experimented with a two-hour credit course that gives both men and women practice in sending invitations, planning and giving teas, receptions, and dinners, and acting as hosts and hostesses.

Other colleges capitalize on extracurricular activities for developing social competence. Campus organizations have projects to aid students in their personal growth. For example, a freshman handbook with information on dress and behavior may be issued by upperclassmen. Talks on phases of social adjustment are given to small discussion groups or the entire student body.

Organizations do more, though, than supply information about behavior. They sponsor activities—dances, teas, games, concerts, dramatic productions, and lecture programs—which contribute to social growth. The importance of engaging in these activities can scarcely be overemphasized. "Social development usually does not result from a series of lectures on the subject, but rather from an interplay of students and faculty members in a social environment." Fraternities and sororities pay special attention to social training for their members. In the close daily contacts of group living, members of properly supervised fraternal organizations have a natural setting for perfecting social graces.

If a college has dormitories, their directors may outline programs for social training. The plan at the Illinois State Normal University, described by the dean of women, is illustrative.

In our two dormitories, a planned program of social training is provided throughout the year. A mature householder for the men's dormitory supplements the personal attention of the Dean of Men, developing approved social habits through group living, dining room experience,

and more elaborate social events such as teas, receptions, open house, and parties formal and informal. In the women's dormitory, reserved for freshmen, 19 junior and senior women are invited by faculty committee to become "Honor Residents". . . .

These older students, chosen for social maturity and interest in counseling, are leaders in the Hall, under the guidance of the Director of the Hall, who is also the Assistant Dean of Women, and is especially trained in personnel work. Honor Residents do not room with freshmen, but are located in every corridor, with responsibility for the freshmen in their corridors. An upper-class woman sits at each table with a group of freshmen (table combinations are changed at intervals). At least once a day, service of plates by a hostess at each table is practiced, the Honor Resident serving the first week in the fall, and a different freshman serving each day thereafter. Dressing for more formal dinners on Wednesday evenings and Sunday noons is regular practice, and inviting guests is encouraged by providing a special menu for these occasions. House meetings, Honor Resident meetings with the Director of the Hall, and corridor meetings of Honor Residents and the Director supplement group guidance.¹⁷

GRADUATE PROGRAMS

The acquisition of the competences that teachers need calls for extended college preparation. Although four years are now regarded as a minimum, the trend is toward five years. In the not too distant future, some specialized positions may call for six or seven years.

Changes are recommended in graduate programs in order to help teachers carry on their tasks in the modern school. The prevailing requirements for graduate degrees should be modified to accent preparation not for research but for better teaching. Broad education rather than highly specialized technical training, and study of subject content as well as professional education, are desirable.

An overview of the almost endless problems involved in planning postbaccalaureate programs was given by Stinnett in his keynote address at the 1953 Regional Conferences on Teacher Education and Professional Standards.

No area in teacher education at the moment is in greater ferment, is receiving more attention and study by the profession and by teacher-

¹⁷ Anna R. Keaton, "Training in Social Competence," *Teachers College Journal*, March, 1948, p. 105.

education institutions, or offers greater promise for the professional standards movement, than that of fifth-year and graduate programs for teachers. The growing trend of states to require completion of a fifth year of professional preparation following teaching experience, for full professional qualification and standard qualification, together with increasing trends toward salary differentials for a fifth year of preparation, is resulting in increasing numbers of teachers completing fifth-year programs each year. This upsurge of clientele has compelled graduate schools and teacher-education institutions to examine critically the kinds of fifth-year programs which are needed and the appropriate content of such programs.

Here is a major battleground in the current warring in teacher education. Graduate schools adhering to the traditional master's degree programs are losing teacher clientele and are looking askance at schools and colleges of education which are offering the professional master's degree or fifth-year programs without degrees. Some graduate schools suspect that these programs are becoming overloaded with easy education courses; that they are tending to cheapen graduate degrees; and that teachers are following the easy road to advanced degrees, by avoiding the more difficult content fields. In rebuttal, the educationists contend that the usual type of graduate research program does not serve adequately the needs of classroom teachers; that there is no point in requiring a fifth year of preparation for teachers if increasing the efficiency of the teacher in his particular job is ignored. Somewhere between these two positions should be common grounds for a meeting of minds. Certainly, the belief that many fifth-year programs are overloaded with professional education courses and offer no greater promise of contributing to the efficiency of teachers than does concentration in content fields should be examined objectively. Certainly, too, the suspicion that many of these programs lack thoroughness of scholarship should be examined.

In the search for an answer to this problem, one must inquire what are the purposes to be served in fifth-year programs for teachers? What is appropriate content of fifth-year programs after the purposes have been determined? As regards the first, there is no easy answer. There are many purposes to be served. The chief one, perhaps, is providing additional preparation for the experienced teacher in terms of ability to perform a specific job, although desirable growth of the teacher as a person cannot be overlooked. Within this broad purpose there are several subdivisions: the enhancing of the efficiency of those occupying administrative positions, those occupying supervisory positions, those occupying teaching positions—both at the public school level and at the

college level—and those occupying special-school service positions. Then there is the liberal-arts graduate without previous teaching experience who wishes to complete a year of professional preparation for the beginning of teaching. There are several types of conversion programs. Also, there is the last year of a sequential, integrated five-year program of preparation to be considered.

All these purposes must be served in graduate programs of teacher education. Thus, when one comes to consider what is appropriate content for these fields, the problem is complex indeed. At the moment, it would appear that the most crucial questions facing educators, concerning graduate programs for teachers, are: Is the best preparation for teaching a four-plus-one program, the final year being completed after actual teaching experience? Is the four-plus-one program with four years of liberal arts education and one year of professional work as an apex, either as a part of campus work or divided between campus work and internship, superior? Is the five-year continuous, sequential, and integrated teacher-education program superior to the completion of the four-year program, actual teaching experience, and then completion of the fifth year?¹⁸

These are a few of the questions which must be considered in planning graduate programs for teachers. If they are wisely answered, causes for much of the criticism of such programs can be removed.

ENGENDERING PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES

Every student who expects to teach should catch a glimpse of teaching as a growing profession. It has many characteristics that distinguish a profession from a trade or business, such as these:

1. It involves primarily intellectual activities.
2. It has a body of specialized and technical knowledge and requires a mastery of corresponding skill in practice.
3. It requires fairly high standards for entrance to the field.
4. It has professional standards for the regulation of its group.
5. It has associations that are indicative of a feeling of group consciousness among teachers.
6. It offers opportunity for a lifework.
7. It places service above personal gains.

¹⁸ T. M. Stinnett, "The Backward Look, the Forward Look," *Improving Standards for the Teaching Profession*, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, pp. 11-12.

Several of these characteristics are discussed in other chapters. Here we shall consider only professional ethics and organizations for teachers.

PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

Members of a profession formulate in a code of ethics the standards that will govern their relation to the public and to other members of the profession. Codes of ethics for teachers date back to 1896 when the first official state code was adopted by the state teachers' association of Georgia. Since then forty-five other state associations and Hawaii and Puerto Rico have adopted similar codes. Moreover, numerous guiding principles have been prepared by individuals and by local groups of teachers. In an effort to secure a uniform code, the National Education Association appointed a committee on ethics in 1924. The code drawn up by the committee was officially approved in 1929 and has since undergone four revisions. The revision adopted by the Representative Assembly at Detroit in 1952 is given in Appendix B.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR TEACHERS

Members of a profession have organizations that give evidence of a feeling of group solidarity. Teachers' organizations have had an enviable role in professionalizing teaching. Innumerable groups with large memberships are now in existence. Some are open to every teacher, whereas others are restricted to special groups. Some are local in scope; others embrace county, district, state, or nation. The *Educational Directory*, published annually by the Office of Education, lists about five hundred national and regional associations and more than one hundred state organizations. Local associations have become so numerous that the directory does not include them.

National Organizations. There are many national organizations for teachers, such as the National Society for the Study of Education, national associations for teachers of academic subjects, the Progressive Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the National Teachers Division of the United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., and the National Education Association.

The National Education Association, the largest society of its kind

in the world, came into being as the National Teachers' Association on August 26, 1857, in Philadelphia. Its purpose was "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote the cause of education throughout the country." The original call for the first meeting, sent throughout the United States, amplified the idea that spurred on a pioneer band.

The eminent success which has attended the establishment and operations of the several State Teachers' Associations in this country, is the source of mutual congratulations among all friends of Popular Education. To the direct agency and the diffused influence of these Associations, more perhaps, than to any other cause, are due the manifest improvement of schools in all their relations, the rapid intellectual and social elevation of teachers as a class, and the vast development of public interest in all that concerns the education of the young.

That the State Associations have already accomplished great good, and that they are destined to exert a still broader and more beneficent influence, no wise observer will deny.

Believing that what has been done for States by State Associations may be done for the whole country by a National Association, we, the undersigned, invite our fellow teachers throughout the United States to assemble in Philadelphia, on the 26th day of August next, for the purpose of organizing a NATIONAL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

We cordially extend this invitation to all practical teachers in the North, the South, the East and the West, who are willing to unite in a general effort to promote the educational welfare of our country, by concentrating the wisdom and power of numerous minds, and by distributing among all the accumulated experiences of all, who are ready to devote their energies and contribute of their means to advance the dignity, respectability, and usefulness of their calling; and who, in fine, believe that the time has come when the teachers of the nation should gather into one great Educational Brotherhood.

As the permanent success of any association depends very much upon the auspices attending its establishment, and the character of the organic laws it adopts, it is hoped that all parts of the Union will be largely represented at the inauguration of the proposed enterprise.

In 1870 the National Association of School Superintendents and the American Normal School Association joined the National Teachers' Association and the name was changed to the National Education Association. In 1906, under a special act of Congress, the

organization was incorporated as the National Education Association of the United States.

The opening of the National Education Association headquarters in Washington, D.C., in 1917 symbolized the new place of education in the life of the United States. Other milestones in the life of the Association were the purchase of its own building in 1920; the issuance in January, 1921, of the first copy of the monthly magazine, the *Journal*, which goes to every member; and the establishment of the Research Division in 1922.

The National Education Association coördinates efforts of teachers in solving professional problems. It has been instrumental in raising standards for teachers, in promoting teacher welfare, and in securing educational legislation.

Membership is open to anyone interested in education. Regular annual dues, including full active membership privileges and a year's subscription to the *Journal*, are \$5. Members who pay dues of \$10 annually receive, in addition to the privileges just mentioned, the *Research Bulletins* and the annual volume of *Addresses and Proceedings*. A life membership, which indicates permanent interest in and loyalty to the profession, confers all the privileges of the \$10 membership for life. Dues for a life member are \$150, or a payment of \$15 annually for ten years. Membership in 1953 totaled 504,043, or more than 50 percent of the teachers in the United States.

In addition to meeting the general needs of teachers, the National Education Association through its departmental structure also serves special needs. The first departments were created in 1870. Additional departments have been established from time to time, until in 1953 there were twenty-nine. (See Figure 16.¹⁹)

State Organizations. The first state teachers' association was organized in 1840 in Alabama, the second in New York, the third in Rhode Island, and the fourth in Ohio. Today every state in the Union and all our territorial possessions have such associations. Membership in 1952 totaled 952,577, or nearly 91 percent of the teachers in the country.

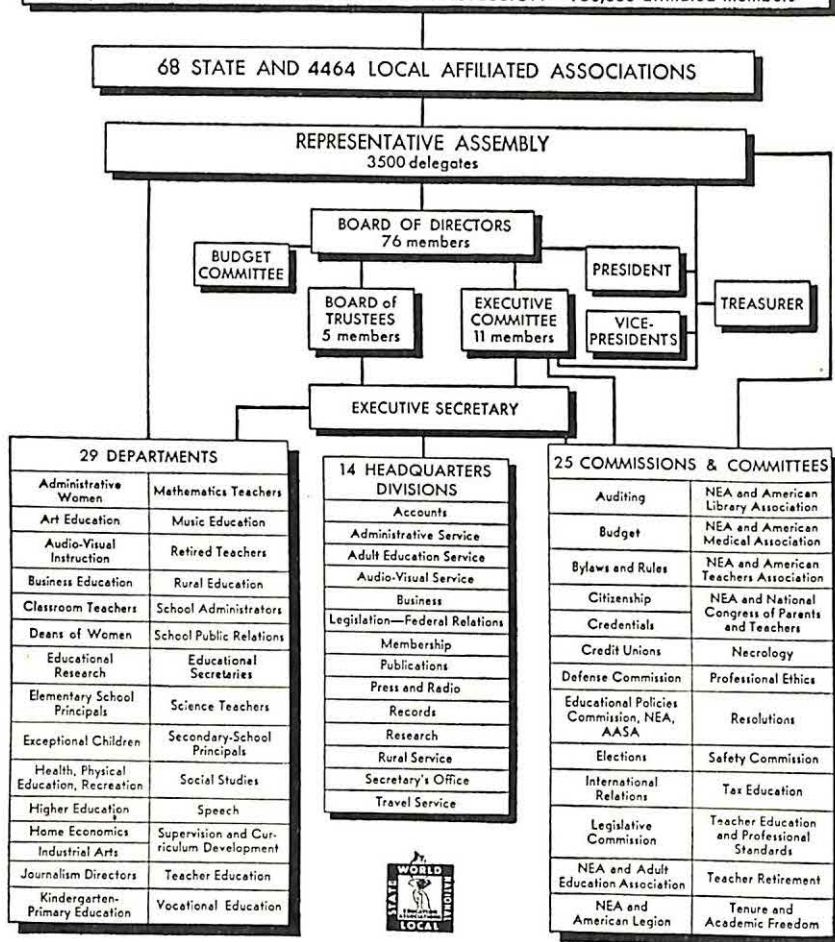
State associations deserve whole-hearted support. They have helped in ameliorating teaching conditions and in promoting the welfare of schools generally. Each association publishes a journal

¹⁹ *Journal of the National Education Association*, December, 1952, p. 599.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

CHARTERED BY ACT OF CONGRESS — 1906

490,000 individual members — OUR UNITED PROFESSION — 950,000 affiliated members



THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION THAT REPRESENTS OR HAS THE POSSIBILITY OF REPRESENTING THE GREAT BODY OF TEACHERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

FIGURE 16. Organization of the National Education Association.

containing news of association activities and articles of professional interest. Many also publish research reports and special legislative bulletins.

The California association was the first to employ a full-time secretary; this was in 1909. By 1952, all the states and Hawaii and Puerto Rico had full-time secretaries. At least 31 associations owned their headquarters buildings or were in process of purchasing or constructing them. All except Hawaii publish a professional journal or a newspaper devoted to problems of the profession.

Local Associations. Local associations are the oldest teachers' organizations in the United States. One of the first, the Society of Associated Teachers, was organized in New York City in 1794. Excerpts from its constitution, adopted in 1794, follow:

The instructors of Youth in this City, persuaded that an Association of the Respectable Teachers would be productive of mutual benefit to themselves, and also enable them to promote the interest of the public, in greater degree than they could otherwise do in their individual capacity—a great trust being committed to them by the public, that of leading the Youth of these Rising States to usefulness and to honor. . . . We the subscribers have agreed and determined to form ourselves into a Society, to be denominated The Society of the Associated Teachers in the City of New York. . . .

Impressed with a sense of the importance of our Profession, as it respects not only the satisfaction of our employers but as it relates to the actual qualifications of those under our care; as it affects the Prosperity and Happiness of the rising age and extends its influence even to those of Succeeding Generations; we are individually determined, as much as in us lies, to preserve among ourselves an "unity of spirit in the bonds of peace;" to exert ourselves in the use of the best devised means to add to our general stock of useful information, and to cultivate those Sentiments by which the efforts we make in our several capacities may be brought to concentre in one important view, and that be directed to the services of Mankind.

In addition to being the oldest, local associations are also the most numerous. In 1952 at least 4400 local associations were affiliated with the National Education Association.

Activities of local associations deal with:

1. Improving the professional services of members.
2. Building *esprit de corps* in the teaching staff.

3. Improving teaching conditions and economic status—efforts at the local level.
4. Improving teaching conditions and economic status—efforts at state and national levels.
5. Rendering community and civic services.
6. Interpreting the association and the profession.

International Organizations. The twentieth century has witnessed the founding of six international organizations of teachers. The most recent, the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, came into existence in Copenhagen, Denmark, on August 1, 1952, through the union of three groups: the International Federation of Secondary Teachers, founded in 1912 by the national associations of secondary-school teachers of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands; the International Federation of Teachers Associations, established in 1926 under the auspices of the elementary-school teachers' associations of France; and the World Organization of the Teaching Profession, formed as a result of a conference arranged in 1946 by the National Education Association at Endicott, New York, and attended by representatives of 38 educational associations from 28 nations. The Confederation has its headquarters in the National Education Association building.

The constitution provides for federations representing elementary, secondary, and other categories of teachers. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, is Secretary General.

Purposes of the Confederation are to foster a conception of education directed toward promoting international understanding, to improve preparation of teachers so as to equip them better to serve the interests of youth, to defend the rights and interests of the teaching profession, and to promote closer relationships among teachers in different countries.

CERTIFICATION

Since teacher education and certification are interdependent, any teacher-education program must take cognizance of certification demands. They have changed drastically since colonial days when determination of qualifications for teachers rested almost exclusively in the hands of local school boards. Oral examinations, frequently

based on questions entirely irrelevant to ability to teach successfully, were given.

Perhaps the experience of a candidate who presented himself to the school committee in Champaign County, Illinois, in the early part of the nineteenth century, was not unusual:

"I understand that it is necessary to get a certificate from you," said the candidate.

"Yes," replied the commissioner, "you can't get nothing fer teachin' 'thout a certificate from me. Come in and set down. Do you see that there show bill up on the wall?"

"Yes."

"What is that thar long word in the middle of the show bill?"

"That is 'Phantasmagoria.'"

"Is that so? Well, anybody that kin pernounce that word kin tech school in this deestrect. I've been tryin' to pernounce it fer some time, but couldn't make it. I'll give you a certificate."

Certificates issued in Marion County, Illinois, in 1848 and 1850 to Middleton Bradley are typical of the times. On the certificate for 1848 the following was written in longhand: "I, J. R. Ryman School Commissioner of Marion Co. Ill. having examined, Middleton Bradley; certify that he is moderately qualified To teach Orthography, Reading; Writing, and Arithmetic in part. Trustees of schools please, satisfy themselves of his moral character, and certify it; as I do not know what it is. Given under my hand this 8th day of Sept. A.D. 1848 J. R. Ryman S.C.M.C." A copy of the 1850 certificate appears as the frontispiece.

After issuance of certificates by local boards became uncommon, district and county boards and still later states took over the function. Since certification of teachers is now a state function, there is no uniformity in standards. Table 21 shows the minimum state requirements for lowest regular certificates in 1953 and Table 22 shows state requirements for administrative certificates.

In spite of the diversity in regulations, Elsbree discerns six central trends in the certification of teachers in the past fifty years:

1. The centralization of the licensing function in the state department of education.
2. The substitution of approved training for teachers' examinations.

TABLE 21. Minimum Requirements by States for Lowest Regular Certificates, with Deadlines for New Requirements to Become Effective²⁰

State	Elementary Teachers				Secondary Teachers			
	Present Requirements	Date Effective	New Requirements	Effective Date	Present Requirements	Date Effective	New Requirements	Effective Date
Alabama	96	1941	...	...	B ^a	1939	...	...
Alaska	90	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
Arizona	B	1950	...	...	M	1950	...	...
Arkansas	30	1949	60	1953	60	1949	...	...
California	B ^b	...	...	...	M	...	...	...
Colorado	60	1923	...	...	B	1923	...	...
Connecticut ^c	B	...	B-M ^e	...	B	...	M ^e	...
Delaware	B	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
District of Columbia	B	...	...	...	M	...	...	...
Florida	B	1952	...	...	B	1952	...	...
Georgia	B	1952	...	...	B	1952	...	...
Idaho	96	1951	B	1955	B	1915	...	...
Illinois	B	1951	...	...	B	1943	...	...
Indiana	B	...	M ^d	...	B	...	M ^d	...
Iowa	60	1952	...	...	B	1933	...	...
Kansas	60	1951	...	...	B	...	...	...
Kentucky	64	1935	B	1953	B	1935	...	...
Louisiana	B	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
Maine	B	1952	...	...	B	1935	...	...
Maryland	B	1940	...	...	B	1916	...	...
Massachusetts	B ^c	1951	...	...	B ^e	1951	...	...
Michigan	30 ^f	1925	...	...	B	1936	...	...
Minnesota	70	1952	B	1961	B	...	...	...
Mississippi	6	1949	B	1956	60	1939	B	1956
Missouri ^g	32	...	Inc. 8	...	...	...	...	...
Montana	60	...	hrs. ea. 2 yrs.	...	B	...	B	...
Nebraska ^h	0	1925	...	...	B	1938	...	...
Nevada	62	...	B	undet. ⁱ	B	...	...	...

^a The symbols B and M stand for Bachelor's and Master's degrees and are used to indicate four and five years of preparation. The symbol M does not necessarily mean that the state requires completion of the Master's degree. In several instances the requirement is completion of the Bachelor's degree and 30 semester hours of appropriate postbaccalaureate work.

^b Ninety semester hours required for out-of-state applicants.

^c Proposed new regulation to be submitted to State Board of Education requiring four years for initial certification and five for permanent.

^d Required for permanent certificate.

^e Massachusetts enacted the first state certification law in 1951. It exempts teachers in Grades 1-6 from degree requirement. The 1952 legislature postponed the effective date of the act.

^f Applies only to normal-school graduates for rural schools. In practice very few certificates are issued at this level. Actually, Michigan may be classed among the four-year states.

^g Increases 8 semester hours each two years, presumably until B degree becomes minimum. (64 for town schools, B for city schools.)

^h Applies only to rural teachers. For urban teachers, the minimum is 64 semester hours.

ⁱ Date has not been set for requirement of B degree to become effective.

²⁰ W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, Government Printing Office, 1953.

TABLE 21. (Continued)

State	Elementary Teachers				Secondary Teachers			
	Present Require- ments	Date Effec- tive	New Require- ments	Effec- tive Date	Present Require- ments	Date Effec- tive	New Require- ments	Effec- tive Date
New Hampshire	B	1948	...	...	B	1948	...	...
New Jersey	B	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
New Mexico	60	1928	...	...	B	1938	...	...
New York	B	1936	...	...	M	1936	...	...
North Carolina	B	1939	...	...	B	1931	...	...
North Dakota	32	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
Ohio	B	1952	...	...	B	1926	...	...
Oklahoma	94	1952	...	...	94	1952	...	...
Oregon	96	1943	B	1955	M	...	...	...
Pennsylvania	B	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
Rhode Island	B	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
South Carolina	60	...	B	1953	B	...	...	...
South Dakota	30	...	...	...	B	...	...	...
Tennessee	60	1925	B	1953	B	1925	...	...
Texas ^j	30	1925	B	1953	30	1925	B	...
Utah	B	1942	...	...	B	1910	...	...
Vermont	B	1951	...	...	B	1934	...	...
Virginia	B	1942	...	...	B	...	...	...
Washington ^k	B-M	1951	...	...	B-M	1951	...	...
West Virginia	64	1941	...	...	B	1928	...	...
Wisconsin	64	1939	...	...	B	1939	...	...
Wyoming	60	1952	...	...	B	1952	...	...

^j Texas has new regulations awaiting legal authorization and adoption by the State Board of Education which would require a B degree for initial certification of elementary and secondary teachers and completion of the fifth year by both for standard certificate.

^k New regulations adopted require a B degree for initial certification of elementary- and high-school teachers and make the completion of the fifth year, in four years, mandatory.

3. The differentiation of certificates according to the nature of the student's preparation, and the abandonment of blanket licenses.
4. The gradual abolition of life certificates.
5. The raising of training levels for all types of teaching certificates, with some inclination to make four years of training above high-school graduation the minimum for teaching in the elementary school and five years the minimum for teaching in the secondary school.
6. The requirement of a certain number of specialized courses in education in the candidate's program of studies.²¹

Increased uniformity is needed to remove the present difficulties in reaching reciprocal agreements which would permit the free flow

²¹ Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, American Book Company, 1939, p. 337.

TABLE 22. State Requirements for Administrative Certificates²²

State	Elementary Principals			Secondary Principals			Superintendents	
	Present Requirement	New Requirement	Effective Date	Present Requirement	New Requirement	Effective Date	Present or New Requirement	Effective Date
Alabama	B ^a	...	1939	B	...	1939	B	1939
Alaska	B + 28	...	...	B + 28	...	...	B + 28	...
Arizona	B + 15	M	1953	B + 15	M	1953	M	1953
Arkansas	B + 14	...	1950	B + 14	...	1950	M	1946
California	M	...	...	M + 18	...	...	M + 30	...
Colorado	60	...	1923	B	...	1923	B	1923
Connecticut	B + 15	...	1941	B + 15	...	1941	M	1941
Delaware	M	...	1952	M	...	...	M	...
District of Columbia	M ^b	...	1941	M ^b	...	1941	M ^b	1941
Florida	M	...	1951	M	...	1951	...	1951
Georgia	M	...	1943	M	...	1943	M	1943
Idaho	96	M	1955	B	M	1955	M	1955
Illinois	B	...	1943	B	M	1953	M	1951
Indiana	M	...	...	M	...	...	M + 30	...
Iowa	B + 20	...	1952	B + 20	...	1952	M	1945
Kansas ^c	B	...	1947	B + 8	...	1947	B + 8	1947
Kentucky	B + 15	...	1952	B + 15	...	1952	M	1952
Louisiana	M	...	1947	M	...	1947	M	1947
Maine	B	...	1952	B	...	1952	B +	...
Maryland	B	...	...	M	...	...	M	...
Massachusetts	B	...	1951	B	...	1951	B	1951
Michigan ^d	No certif.	...	...	No certif.	...	...	No certif.	...
Minnesota	76	...	...	M	...	...	M	...
Mississippi	No certif.	B	1954	No certif.	B	1954	No certif.	1954
Missouri	M	...	1951	M	...	...	- M	...
Montana	M	...	1954	M	...	...	M	...
Nebraska	B	...	1949	B + 9	...	1951	B + 9	1951
Nevada	B	...	...	B	...	...	B	...
New Hampshire	B + 18	...	1948	B + 18	...	1948	M	1948
New Jersey	B	...	...	B	...	...	M	...
New Mexico	B	...	1938	B	...	1938	M	1938
New York	M	...	1936	M	...	1936	M	1936
North Carolina	M	...	1949	M	...	1949	M	1943
North Dakota	No certif.	...	...	No certif.	...	...	No certif.	...
Ohio	B	...	1939	M	...	1939	M	1939
Oklahoma	B	B + 16	1953	B	B + 16	1953	B + 16	1953
Oregon	M	...	1951	M + 8	...	1951	M + 8	1951
Pennsylvania	B	M	1953	B	M	1953	M	...
Rhode Island	M	...	1952	M	...	1952	M	1952
South Carolina	M	...	...	M	...	...	M	...
South Dakota	No certif.	...	...	B + 6	...	...	B + 10	...
Tennessee	No certif.	M	1953	No certif.	M	1953	M	1925
Texas	B + 18	...	1951	B + 18	...	1951	B + 18	1953
Utah	B + 12	...	1946	M	...	1946	M	1946
Vermont	B	B +	1952	M	...	1930	M	1935
Virginia	No certif.	...	...	M	...	1951	M	1934
Washington	M	...	1951	M	...	1937	M + 8	1937
West Virginia	M	...	1938	M	...	1939	M	1934
Wisconsin ^d	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wyoming	64	B	1952	B	M	1952	M	1952

^a The symbols B and M stand for Bachelor's and Master's degrees and are used to indicate four and five years of college preparation. The symbol M does not necessarily mean that the state requires completion of the Master's degree. In several instances, the requirement is completion of the Bachelor's degree and 30 semester hours of appropriate graduate work.

^b Requirements for position. Certificates not issued.

^c In Kansas, renewal of all administrative certificates requires the completion of the fifth year of preparation in a six-year period.

^d Does not issue administrative certificates. Holding of appropriate teacher's certificate is basic requirement.

of teachers among the states. Bowers points out five advantages of encouraging the interstate migration of teachers:

1. It tends to bring about balance between teacher supply and demand, which is essential, not only to teacher welfare and prestige, but to improved educational opportunities for children.
2. It promotes national unity.
3. It tends to destroy provincialism and the inbreeding of ideas and practices in local school systems.
4. It provides a means whereby states having low standards of preparation may raise those standards to a desirable minimum.
5. It promotes teacher growth in service.²³

State directors of teacher education and certification are taking the lead in trying to secure reciprocity in teacher certification. To date, reciprocal agreements have been made chiefly among adjoining states or contiguous states.

The policy statement relating to certification, adopted in 1952 by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, paves the way for regulations that will contribute to the achievement of satisfactory standards in all states.

1. Broad legal powers for the formulation and application of certification requirements should be vested in the chief state education agency and its appropriate professional staff or division. Because of the technical nature of the problem and the changing demands of education and teaching, the prescribing of regulations by statute is impractical.

2. In exercising these broad powers, the chief state education agency should formulate rules, regulations, and policies through cooperative processes involving the participation of the profession and of the public.

3. To assure professional competence, the minimum goals sought in certification requirements should be:

- a. The baccalaureate degree with four years of professional preparation for initial or probationary certification of teachers at all levels;

- b. Five years of college preparation, together with appropriate teaching experience, for initial certification of administrative, consultative or supervisory, and special school service personnel;

- c. Five years of college preparation, together with appropriate teaching experience, for continuing teacher certification;

²³ Harold J. Bowers, "Reciprocity in Teacher Certification," *Journal of the National Education Association*, January, 1950, p. 14.

d. Six years of college preparation, together with appropriate experience, for continuing certification of administrative, consultative or supervisory, and special school service personnel.

It is recognized that for certain vocational and auxiliary fields the above goals are not immediately applicable. Otherwise, state requirements below these minima should be upgraded rapidly, with state deadlines fixed for the time of their achievement.

4. Certification rules, regulations, and policies should facilitate the free flow of qualified teachers across state lines. Sound reciprocal relationships among states should not serve to lower standards in any state. Basic to sound reciprocity are:

a. The development and application of a national professional accrediting process for teacher education institutions and programs;

b. Substantial agreements among states regarding programs of preparation;

c. The removal of certification requirements which discriminate against qualified teachers from another state.

Less than five months after the adoption of the policy statement, the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association endorsed the creation of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education.

The history of the evolution of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education is a thrilling one. It illustrates the effectiveness of professional unity mobilized behind a worthy ideal.

Included in the charge to the Commission upon its creation in 1946 was that it seek to improve standards for institutions which prepare teachers. Pursuant to this charge, cooperative studies were begun as early as 1948, resulting in the proposal that a joint accrediting body be established.

Teaching has had a professional accrediting process since 1927, carried on by the American Association of Teachers Colleges and its successor, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. But this process proved inadequate largely because only one segment of the teaching profession participated in the procedure. Thus, by 1951-52 only about 260 teacher-education institutions among a total of 1217 sought accreditation by the AACTE. Though the AACTE had pioneered the field and had made a notable contribution toward the professionalization of teaching, its members joined vigorously in efforts to bring about an accrediting plan which would attract the united support of the total profession.

The first cooperative study of the problem took place in a special group in the Bowling Green Conference, in the summer of 1948. This group recommended that a joint accrediting body be established for the teaching profession and that a subsequent national conference of the Commission be devoted entirely to a study of the details of such a plan. This recommendation was followed and the Indiana Conference (1950) concentrated upon developing specific recommendations relating to the evaluation of teacher-education programs.

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards was requested to assume leadership in arranging meetings of representatives of major groups to explore the possibilities of setting up a joint council. The first exploratory meeting was held in Washington, D.C., April 27-29, 1951. From the deliberations of this first meeting came the designation of 17 persons, comprising the Temporary Committee, representing (1) The National Council of Chief State School Officers (NCCSSO), (2) The National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC), (3) The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), (4) The National School Boards Association (NSBA), and (5) The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS).

From this first meeting of the Temporary Committee emerged the proposal that a National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education be formed, consisting of 21 members, with representation as follows: six representing the state legal teacher licensing authorities—three of whom would be chosen by the NCCSSO and three by the NASDTEC; six representing the preparing colleges and universities, to be chosen by the AACTE; six representing the teaching profession, to be nominated by the NCTEPS and selected by the NEA Executive Committee; and three representing the local education authorities at the local level, elected representatives of the public, chosen by the NSBA.

The proposal was then submitted to the memberships of the five constituent organizations. The NCCSSO and the NASDTEC approved the proposal in the summer of 1951. Annual meetings of the AACTE and the NSBA gave their approval in February, 1952. The Commission scheduled study sessions at each of the eight regional conferences which it sponsored in January and February, 1952. A portion of the Kalamazoo National Conference, held June 25-28, 1952, was devoted to a study of the proposal. The proposal was presented to the NEA Executive Committee, the NEA Board of Directors, the National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Associations, and the NEA Department of Classroom Teachers at Detroit, prior to being submitted

for vote of the Representative Assembly, and was approved by each of these organizations. The NEA Representative Assembly adopted the proposal without a dissenting vote on July 2, 1952. The creation of the Council is a significant step forward in the movement to professionalize teaching. In the minds of many it may well usher in a new era for education in the United States.²⁴

The Council was activated in the fall of 1952 and was authorized to begin the actual work of accrediting on July 1, 1954. Meanwhile it studied the best possible procedures for carrying on its work.

A timely comment on the newly formed agency was contained in Stinnett's address quoted earlier in this chapter:

The teaching profession took a great step toward professional maturity by establishing during the year a professional accrediting procedure. This procedure is designed to provide democratic representation and participation of the major segments of the profession in the accrediting process. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education symbolizes a milestone in the struggle for recognition of teaching as a major profession in American life. For more than 100 years now, the teaching profession itself has had little voice in the determination of programs for the preparation of its own members. The Council provides a democratic base with representation of the more than 1,000,000 teachers, the 1200 institutions of all types engaged in teacher education, the 52 state and territorial legal authorities who are charged with the responsibility of approving teacher-education programs and certifying teachers, and the school boards, the legal representatives of the people in every public school district in the United States.²⁵

PLACEMENT

A prospective teacher needs information about matters related to placement. He should know how to locate vacancies, apply for positions, and identify the essentials of a contract. He should know, too, how some communities assist in orienting new teachers.

In a study conducted in 1950 by the National Education Association, approximately 1611 superintendents told how applicants for teaching positions were recruited. The five most frequently mentioned practices, in decreasing order of importance, were:

²⁴ "Growing Up Professionally," *Journal of Teacher Education*, September, 1952, p. 219.

²⁵ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

1. Getting names from placement bureaus of colleges and universities, commercial teachers' agencies, state departments of education or state employment service, and state teachers associations.
2. Using applications sent in voluntarily by candidates.
3. Making inquiries at conventions and similar gatherings.
4. Making inquiries in other school systems.
5. Publishing announcements of positions to be filled.²⁶

Two devices not listed on the printed form but written in by a number of respondents were securing names of prospects from their present teaching and supervisory staffs and recruiting directly on college campuses.

In view of these replies regarding means of locating new teachers, registration with college placement bureaus, with commercial teacher-placement agencies, and with placement bureaus of state departments of education and state education associations seems advisable.

Most teacher-education institutions have placement bureaus and assist graduates in securing positions. Registrants can increase their opportunities to obtain desirable positions by keeping their files up-to-date and notifying placement officers promptly of any change in position. College officers are limited by the number of calls they receive for teachers. However, they can often render excellent service because they are in a position to know each candidate's qualifications and the characteristics of the schools that are seeking teachers. Thus they can help locate the right person in the right position. Since the success of a beginning teacher is related to the character of the school where he teaches, he should heed the advice of the college placement office.

Approximately eighty private teachers' agencies maintain placement services. In 1951 seventy-one of these agencies were members of the National Association of Teachers' Agencies, whose purpose is "the clarifying, standardization and improving of teacher-placement procedure in the interests of education." Candidates usually pay a small registration fee. If placed through an agency, they pay a commission, usually 5 percent of the first year's salary. To avoid

²⁶ National Education Association, Research Division, *Teacher Personnel Practices, 1950-51: Appointment and Termination of Service*, Research Bulletin, February, 1952, p. 15.

misunderstandings they should thoroughly read contracts with commercial agencies. They should also investigate the success of the various agencies in placing teachers in the localities where they prefer to work.

Besides registering with placement bureaus or agencies, teachers usually try to locate vacancies through their own efforts. They employ such means as these: inquiries directed to superintendents or to other employing officials, information secured from friends and acquaintances in various school systems, contacts with school officials at educational meetings, announcement services by educational periodicals, and information from state supervisors of vocational subjects and other personnel who travel and hence are in touch with many school systems.

LETTERS OF APPLICATION

One way in which employing officials evaluate a teacher's qualifications is by having him fill out a formal application blank and write a letter of application. Ordinarily he is expected to include pertinent personal qualifications—age; health; college records such as scholarship record, student teaching record, and professional education; special abilities, particularly ability to direct extracurricular activities; experience in teaching and in nonteaching vocations; and references to whom the employer may write concerning the applicant. A recent photograph is usually also requested.

Since letters of application may win or lose a position, teachers should learn how to write them convincingly. The Placement Bureau of Eastern Illinois State College offers its registrants detailed suggestions about letters. (The suggestions were prepared by Dr. H. L. Metter, former director of the Placement Bureau.)

There are three types of letters written by candidates for teaching positions: letters of application, letters of inquiry, and follow-up letters. Since the purpose and ethics governing the use of each type are different, each will be dealt with independently.

Letters of Application.—It is ethical to write a letter of application only for a specific position which is known to be vacant. If a candidate is not certain that a vacancy exists a letter of inquiry should be sent first. A letter of application should always be sent as soon as possible

after it is known that a vacancy exists. Most school officials require applicants to file in their office a letter of application or a formal application before consideration for a position will be given. This point is emphasized because some candidates are likely to think that the credential folder sent by the bureau and a personal application make a letter of application or a formal application unnecessary.

There are two kinds of application letters. The first and most common is the one that contains all the information about the candidate in the body of the letter. The other kind is one that serves as an introduction to the writer and sets forth only the salient features of his qualifications. All other data are given on a separate sheet commonly called a data sheet. The second type of letter is preferred by the majority of superintendents and employing officials.

A letter of application should be written on white paper, letter size (eight and one-half inches by eleven inches). It should be mailed in a white envelope which matches the paper and which is long enough to require but two folds of the paper. The long stamped envelopes (No. 10) sold at the post office are very good. Suitable stationery may be purchased at the textbook library.

The majority of the school officials prefer that letters of application be typed. A few prefer that they be written in longhand. Unless a candidate is a good penman he should type his letters of application or have them typed. The data sheets should always be typed even though the letter is written in longhand. The type should be clean, the ribbon fresh, and there should be no strikeovers, erasures, or errors. He should use consistent form in punctuation, and either block or indented paragraphs. He should type his signature and sign above it.

If the letter is written in longhand, a heavy ruled paper should be placed beneath the writing paper to insure straight lines. Margins and indentations must be regular.

Application letters should be reasonably brief and to the point. When data sheets are used the letter need never be longer than one page. Although much of the information in the credential is duplicated in the data sheets, candidates are strongly urged to use them. They make for an effective, neat, and complete letter of application.

An application photograph should always be clipped to a letter of application. It helps to associate the candidate's letter with his credential folder and his personal application. When dozens of people are applying to the same school officials this is very important. The name and address of the applicant should be on the back of the photograph.

A few years ago one hundred and fifty Illinois superintendents were

asked to list the common errors in letters of application which caused them to dismiss from consideration the applicants who wrote them. The list is as follows: the use of tinted stationery, the use of social stationery, the use of soiled stationery, misspelled words, grammatical errors, punctuation errors, failure to paragraph correctly, poor penmanship, erasures and blots on the paper, irregular margins, crooked lines of writing, and careless typing.

A candidate should give consideration to the following suggestions in writing a letter of application.

He should tell how he learned of the vacancy. He should not say, "I have been informed of a vacancy in your school." He should be specific and tell who informed him.

He should give his educational qualifications, stating the degree or diploma and certificate he will hold when ready for appointment. He should keep the specific needs of the position always in mind and list by names the courses he has taken which will qualify him to fill the position. He should not say, "I have had several courses in English." It sounds as though he were trying to hide something. He should not say, "I have taken Education 228." The reader will not know what that is. He should avoid generalities such as "good education," and "have had considerable experience."

He should give his qualifications for directing extra-curricular activities in an honest, straightforward manner. He should not say, "I have played basketball in high school." Almost any one can say that. He should tell how much he played and how many letters he was awarded.

He should give complete information regarding any teaching experience he has had. School officials are very much interested in the amount of practice teaching and the grades and subjects taught. He should not make a negative statement such as, "The only teaching experience I have had— _____." He should state his experience record without depreciating it.

He should give complete information about community or church work he has done. School officials are interested in teachers who have had experience in Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, and similar club work.

School officials are prevented by law from asking about a candidate's church affiliations. However, most of them want this information and it is usually advisable to supply it. Church, lodge, and fraternal affiliations should not be emphasized unless the candidate knows definitely that such affiliations are favorable.

If a candidate has a special reason for wishing to have a particular position he should give it. However, he should not approach this topic from a charitable angle. He must not beg; he must offer his services to do a specific job. Any other approach is unprofessional.

If a candidate wishes to give references other than the Bureau of Teacher Placement each reference should be set out in a separate indented paragraph giving name, title, and complete address.

The candidate should not mention salary unless he wishes to say that he is willing to accept the customary salary for such a position.

The candidate should enclose a small stamped self-addressed envelope to insure a reply and the return of his photograph.

Letters of Inquiry.—If a candidate has a desire to teach in a certain school system, or has heard rumors of a vacancy which he is qualified to fill, it is quite ethical to write a letter of inquiry.

As much care should be devoted to this letter as to a letter of application as far as mechanical form and proper psychological approach are concerned. The letter should provide for an easy and immediate response. A self-addressed stamped envelope should be enclosed. One should not ask the superintendent to file the inquiry for future reference or say "Notify me at your earliest convenience." The letter should inquire regarding a definite position. For example: "Have you a vacancy in your sixth grade?", not "Please send me information concerning vacancies in your school." When writing to a city superintendent ask for an application blank. Do not use such remarks as, "I thank you in advance," "I shall appreciate a reply," "I beg to remain," or "I hope that you will have a vacancy."

The Follow-Up Letter.—It is frequently advisable for a candidate to write a follow-up letter. The purpose of the letter is to keep the candidate's qualifications uppermost in the mind of the hiring official. Perhaps the best time to write the letter is after the personal interview and before final action has been taken. The letter should contain a statement showing the candidate's gratitude for the privilege of an interview. It may contain additional facts regarding his qualifications or a brief reference to one or two of the candidate's strongest qualifications. The letter should be brief, courteous, and dignified.

PERSONAL APPLICATIONS

Another way in which officials appraise candidates is through a personal interview. Although the task is sometimes delegated to assistants, superintendents usually conduct the interviews.

The chief purposes of a personal interview are:

1. A general appraisal of the candidate's personality.
2. Opportunity to gain some insight into candidate's educational philosophy and professional outlook.
3. Opportunity to evaluate candidate's voice and personal characteristics.
4. Opportunity to learn of candidate's ambitions and plans for the future.
5. Opportunity to get information on the candidate's education and experience.²⁷

The Placement Bureau of Eastern Illinois State College gives specific suggestions for making a personal application.

An effective personal application is usually necessary in securing a position. If the position is in a rural school the applicant must interview the members of the board of education. It is usually advisable but not absolutely necessary to interview the president first. If the position is in a village or city school the applicant should interview the superintendent first. If it is necessary to interview the board members, the superintendent will request it. It is then possible to tell the board members that the superintendent requested that he call upon them. Usually the superintendent will give the applicant facts about each board member which will be useful in the interviews. It is advisable that the applicant carry brief data sheets, leaving a sheet with each person interviewed. If the position is in a city school system an interview with the superintendent is usually sufficient.

How to Prepare for an Interview.—Before interviewing a superintendent and board of education the applicant should find out as much as possible about their personalities, tastes, prejudices, peculiarities, businesses, and the community factions to which they belong. If possible he may solicit the aid of influential citizens of the community with whom he has connections, but he should make certain that they do not exert undue pressure on the superintendent or on the board of education. He should also secure as much information as possible from students registered in the college from that community. He should find out about religious preferences, influential lodges and clubs of the community, and the educational background of the superintendent and board members. He should be prepared to compliment the superintendent and board members upon accomplishments of which they are particularly proud:

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the well-planned new school building, the well-equipped home economics laboratory, the well-equipped library, the exceptional showing of the school band, the basketball team, the football team, or the address the superintendent gave at the college.

The applicant should find out why the teacher is leaving the position for which he is applying. If the teacher has been discharged, it is desirable to find out why and tactfully to build up his qualifications in such a way as to convince the board and superintendent that he does not possess the poor judgment or adverse qualities of the previous teacher. He, however, should never refer to the previous teacher in any way.

The applicant should find out what the community expects of its teachers with regard to dancing, smoking, week-end leaves, card playing, etc. The superintendent is anxious to hire a teacher who fits into the community without friction. Sometimes this is more important than educational qualifications.

Frequently the superintendent and board members will not be skilled in interviewing candidates and there will be embarrassing pauses in the conversation. This will more likely be true if the candidate goes into the interview with the intention only of answering the questions asked. The candidate must be prepared to fill in these pauses. He should go into the interview with the intention of discussing in a very thorough manner the school, the community, the position, and his qualifications for the position. He should be prepared to ask the superintendent a great many intelligent questions. A list of such questions should be prepared before the interview. The list should include questions about the school building, the equipment of the school, the curriculum, the pupils, the other teachers, the subject combinations of the teachers, the textbooks (a candidate must always be prepared to discuss the new textbooks in his own field intelligently), the standards of the school, the extra-curricular activities, and the financial status of the district. The candidate should never interrupt a superintendent when he is reading a data sheet or answering the telephone, but he should not permit the interview to slow down or stop from lack of important things to talk about.

After graduation the candidate should always carry a transcript of his credits with him when making an application. After securing a high school position it will be necessary to turn this over to the superintendent. Duplicates may be secured from the college registrar's office for \$1.00.

The Interview.—The candidate should never go into an interview reeking with tobacco odors.

The candidate should never take a parent or friend into an interview with him. If his parents must go along, they should stay in the car or at some other convenient place where they will not interfere with the interview. The superintendent is not interested in hiring or interviewing parents. Their presence will often greatly reduce the applicant's chances of securing the position.

The applicant should know the names of the superintendent and board members well enough that he can call each of them by name without hesitation during the interview.

In making a personal application it is of extreme importance that the applicant be neat and well groomed. He must give careful attention to clothing, shoes, hair, and fingernails. Women should also give special attention to facial make-up. The use of too much rouge and lip-stick, or an unusual way of combing the hair may be considered in bad taste. Clothing should be appropriate, clean, and well-pressed. Body odors must be avoided; the teeth must be clean and the breath must not be offensive.

During the interview the superintendent and board members will be interested in the following characteristics of the applicant: physical fitness, health, vigor, energy, cultural background, voice, use of English, good taste in dress, tact, interest in pupils, interest in teaching, poise, ability to cooperate, qualities of leadership, sense of humor, ability to discipline, and the ability to secure the respect of the pupils and the community.

The applicant should not attempt to dominate the interview. He may be able to talk more convincingly and forcefully than the superintendent or board of education, but if he does so in such a way as to embarrass the superintendent or board members, he will probably not secure the appointment. The superintendent wants to hire someone who is able to get along well with people.

There is no reason why the applicant should dread an interview if he has properly prepared himself for it. In almost every instance the superintendent and board members will be sympathetic with the candidate. They will attempt to put him at his ease and will do all in their power to make the interview a pleasant experience. The attitude of the candidate should be that of sincere, smiling self-confidence. He must never exhibit fear, nervousness, dread, or embarrassment. Superintendents do not want on their staffs teachers who are cringing and worried.

After introducing himself to the superintendent or board member the candidate should state the position for which he is applying and furnish the official with a data sheet which outlines his qualifications.

The applicant's manner of moving and speaking should be brisk. Questions should be answered directly and concisely. He should speak out clearly, articulating and pronouncing the words correctly and forcefully. His statements should be specific and direct, avoiding sweeping statements and exaggerated generalities. He should not make such general statements as "I know how to handle children," or "I am a good disciplinarian," but rather by stating specific achievements or experiences he should seek to give the impression that he is trying honestly to state the facts regarding his abilities.

OTHER PROCEDURES FOR APPRAISAL OF CANDIDATES

Besides asking applicants to fill out application blanks and appear for personal interviews, superintendents use other procedures for evaluating their qualifications. Among these are collecting information and opinions from the persons named as references, observing the applicant's classroom work, asking him to take written examinations, requiring him to take a physical examination, requesting him to submit transcripts of credit.

Superintendents, especially in large cities, often assemble an orderly array of factors to be considered in choosing candidates. This listing of qualifications forms the basis for establishing an eligibility list. A superintendent may draw up an unranked list of approved candidates, or a rated list made by combining numerical ratings on measures of ability such as written examination, education, experience, and personal characteristics. Weightings used in making rated lists vary markedly. For example, some superintendents attach great importance to education and experience, whereas others give them little weight.

In certain cities the best-qualified candidates are put on List A; all others go on List B. Vacancies are filled by choosing any qualified teacher from List A. No selection may be made from List B until List A has been exhausted.

TEACHERS' CONTRACTS

When a candidate secures a position, he should receive a contract that defines his rights and duties as well as those of the board of education.

Most states have laws governing teachers' contracts. Some require

a written contract. Several prescribe a uniform contract for all school systems. Although oral contracts are valid in certain states, it is advisable for a teacher to have a written contract.

The Committee on Tenure of the National Education Association proposes six minimum essentials for a teacher's contract:

1. Definite statement as to length of school term.
2. Definite statement as to amount of salary.
3. Phraseology which is legally enforceable.
4. Specific legal requirements, such as kind of certificate, and any special provisions of state law that apply.
5. Definite date for notification of reelection (at least 30 days before termination and preferably 60 or 90 days).
6. Provision for equal protection to employer and employee.

INDUCTION OF NEW TEACHERS

Many school systems have special plans for helping new teachers get started. Five practices are common:

1. Helping new teachers locate living quarters.
2. Holding conferences soon after school opens, at which their special problems are discussed.
3. Providing new teachers with personal copies of rules and regulations governing the school system.
4. Assigning an experienced teacher to give counsel to each new teacher.
5. Asking new teachers to report several days earlier than other teachers for special meetings and discussion.²⁸

A commendable undertaking of the New York State Teachers Association is mailing an attractively printed message to all new teachers in the state each September. Here is the message:

WE WELCOME YOU—

a newcomer into a profession that is both old and honorable. It has traditions and ideals and great names which deserve your respect. It will remain honorable if you treat it with honor.

Its duties are often heavy and you will sometimes know weariness, anxiety, and discouragement. It will require all your tact, patience, tolerance, and courage.

Its rewards are intangible but satisfying. They come from the friend-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

ship of children and youths, from the respect of the community, from the pleasant companionship of fellow teachers. They come from the opportunities you will have to help those who need help and to light the able and ambitious on their way. They come from the realization that you are helping in the shaping of our society and of tomorrow's world.

To this high calling, you bring the enthusiasm and vigor of youth, and the knowledge, the skills, and the understanding of children which are fruits of your years of preparation. To you, we who have served a little longer pledge our cooperation and support as we welcome you into the fellowship of teachers.

Many school systems issue handbooks for new teachers. Tulsa, Oklahoma, has a forty-page booklet crammed with pertinent information about the city and its schools.

The Ohio Education Association has an informative and interesting handbook, *Professional Pointers for Teachers*, that covers all sorts of problems, ranging from preparation for the first day to what organizations to join. An excerpt from the preface gives a taste of the style:

Pull up a chair equipped with cushions and crackers, and visit with us for one evening. As you read, we surround you and waft gentle thoughts into your pet day-dreams. Soon you will be as wise as the principal is, and as arrayed for the battle against ignorance as the oldest war horse in your building! Sh-h!!! Their secrets are all in this book.

Lay groups often share in the process of welcoming teachers. In Portland, Oregon, the American Association of University Women coöperates with the Board of Education in orienting new teachers. Sponsorship means an invitation to a member's home and two other contacts including a personal invitation to the A.A.U.W. tea for new members.

IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

A teacher's preparation should not end when a contract is signed or when a college degree is conferred upon him. That education should be a continuous process is as true for teachers as for pupils. The profession has no place for "the George Apleys who wish that there were not quite so many new ideas." Advances in knowledge

and changes in curriculum and social conditions make growth on the job imperative. "Who dares to teach must never cease to learn."

Although in-service education is not an innovation, the meaning of the term is changing. Until a few years ago it described the individual efforts of teachers to further their education. Since many teachers did not have a bachelor's degree, they were concerned primarily with securing credits for a degree. If they were not pursuing a degree, they were frequently securing credits in order to raise their place in the salary schedule. They engaged in a variety of activities—summer study, summer work experiences, extension and home study, school visitations, travel, professional and cultural reading, attendance at professional meetings, and participation in community affairs.

Today in-service education is coming to be regarded as a coöperative endeavor. It centers around individual and group attempts to reach solutions of problems that grow out of actual teaching situations. It contributes not only to personal growth but also to a sense of group responsibility for the entire school.

The best programs of in-service education utilize genuine coöperative staff activity. According to the Commission on Teacher Education, "Democratic group methods provide the procedure to be employed. Through the development of policies councils, planning committees, study group conferences, and workshops teachers are enabled to share in educational planning and doing. Thus the teacher gains respect—his own, and that of others. Thus the power that resides in the ideas possessed by all teachers has an opportunity to express itself fully for the advantage of the schools. Able to help form policies and encouraged to act responsibly and freely in the implementation thereof, teachers find a new satisfaction in their profession. They learn by doing. And the educational program improves."

Democratic coöperation can take place only in a situation which stimulates free discussion and free inquiry. Administrators and teachers have to learn to work together in an atmosphere characterized by mutual understanding and respect. Teachers should arrive at decisions without being bound by predetermined ideas of the administration. From their administrators they should receive encouragement, sympathetic support, and intelligent leadership.

Programs of in-service study should be mapped out by staff members. Since it is usually not feasible for all the teachers to concentrate on a single project, there must be provision for more than one activity. Among areas often selected for study are child growth and development, the local community, curriculum and instructional problems, teacher welfare, school and community relations, and teacher-pupil relations.

Although groups may delve into different problems, there must eventually be coördination and integration. Once a solution has been reached it should be coöperatively evaluated and, if necessary, modified.

Since persons besides the teaching staff are concerned with the school, in-service education programs may enlist the coöperation of many segments of the community. The nonteaching staff, parents, and the public should all have a share in such programs.

In view of the fact that a coöperative study of group problems demands a vast amount of time, it cannot be regarded as a kind of extracurricular undertaking. The countless hours consumed by conferences and meetings of policy councils, planning committees, and study groups should not be added to an already crowded day. Specially scheduled time for in-service study should be allotted during the school day and school year, and suitable adjustment should be made in teachers' programs. The practice of employing teachers for the full twelve months of the year may be the ultimate solution. Under this plan teachers spend part of their summer on projects that enhance their personal and professional growth. For example, for six weeks during the summer teachers at Glencoe, Illinois, engage in activities that have been coöperatively determined. Certain teachers travel or attend colleges for advanced study, and others remain in Glencoe to take part in locally organized community programs. Each teacher may change his type of summer activity from year to year.

WORKSHOPS

Workshops have demonstrated their value in in-service education. They originated in 1936 as a project of the eight-year study of the Progressive Education Association when groups of teachers asked consultants to work with them on problems of curriculum organiza-

tion peculiar to their schools. This seminar, attended by thirty-five teachers, met at Ohio State University for six weeks. Since then the plan has been widely adopted. The Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council has sponsored a number of workshops.

Prall and Cushman define the term workshop in this fashion:

The essential features of what we shall call a workshop are intensive consideration of practical problems that have arisen from the daily functioning of the teaching job, flexible and informal working conditions, active sharing by workshopppers in developing plans for individual or group study, and easy access to a wide range of resources—in terms of staff, fellow participants, books, and other aids to learning. The usual schedule consists of meetings in the morning of small discussion groups organized around the workshopppers' stated interests; free time in the afternoons for individual work, conferences, and recreation; and general meetings and individual work in the evenings. A prominent feature of many workshops is a definite period set aside for informal work in the arts. It is usual for participants and staff members to make a point of living or at least eating together, and to foster informal contacts of all sorts. A significant consequence of the general arrangements is that emphasis tends to develop on organic relationships so that participants are stimulated to think in terms of the whole child, the whole curriculum, and the whole community in which they work.²⁹

A workshop has distinct values for experienced teachers who appreciate freedom to attack practical problems. They like group planning and democratic organization and administration. They enjoy an informal social atmosphere and recreational activities that encourage acquaintance among staff and participants.

The workshop term should be long enough to enable a teacher to carry to completion a problem of limited scope. Six weeks is a typical period.

Consultants and other resource personnel should be chosen judiciously. Besides competence in their field, they need skill in the techniques of working with adults and artistry in human relations.

RESPONSIBILITY OF COLLEGES FOR IN-SERVICE EDUCATION

In-service education brings colleges and universities fresh opportunities and challenges. They may relate their workshops to pro-

²⁹ Charles E. Prall and C. Leslie Cushman, *Teacher Education in Service*, American Council on Education, 1944, pp. 201-202.

grams of particular school systems, arrange conferences and consultant services, and provide follow-up services for their graduates. Through close contacts with teachers in the field, colleges can discover ways of revitalizing their preservice programs. Hence the venture proves to be to the mutual advantage of all participants.

SUMMARY

This chapter deals with some aspects of teacher recruitment, selection, guidance, preparation, certification, placement, and in-service education. Recruitment is a responsibility of teachers and their professional organizations, teacher-education colleges, and the lay public. Selection must be made from candidates who signify their intention to teach. Hand in hand with selection goes guidance. Programs for teacher preparation contribute to the development of academic, professional, and social competences. During the preparatory period students should envisage teaching as a growing profession whose members are interested in professional ethics and organizations. Teacher-preparing curriculums take certification requirements into account. Once a student is eligible to teach, he may seek a position through his own efforts or use the services of a college placement bureau or commercial teachers' agency. Closely related to placement are matters pertaining to contracts and induction of new teachers. In-service education is essential for continuous professional growth.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. What is the relation between improved preparation for teaching and respect for the calling?
2. How may the public attitude toward teachers colleges affect the kind and number of young people who choose teaching as a career?
3. State arguments for and against the conversion of teachers colleges into state colleges.
4. Should preparation of teachers be largely at state expense?
5. How have professional organizations of teachers influenced American education?
6. Hold a round-table discussion on the question, Should teachers affiliate with labor unions?
7. Should general education be the same for teachers as for other people?
8. List criteria that you think should be used in determining whether

or not a student should be accepted as a candidate for teacher preparation.

9. Distinguish between the purposes of liberal arts and teachers colleges.
10. If a teacher knows his subject well, does he need professional education?
11. Examine and characterize ten professional education magazines.
12. Examine yearbooks of five professional organizations that your instructor specifies.
13. Secure information concerning dues, official publication, time and place of meeting, and work of your state teachers' association. If possible, attend a meeting of it.
14. Show how this statement by Faunce may apply to the in-service preparation of teachers: "The world is held back chiefly, not by bad men and women, but by good ones who have stopped growing." Outline a plan for in-service education that you could follow during your first five years of teaching.

CHAPTER XII

Teaching as a Lifework

IMPORTANCE OF CHOICE OF LIFEWORK

CHOOSING A lifework is probably the most momentous single decision that any person has to make. On it depends the pattern of his day-by-day living. Within limits it determines his associates, his home surroundings, his hobbies, his community activities, and his pride and satisfaction in his work. A wise choice determines whether or not he will live eagerly and purposefully, enthusiastically facing the demands of each new day.

Yet, in spite of the significance of the choice, many people embark blindly on their lifework. They seem as naïve as the boy who wanted to be a retired businessman or the girl who aspired to be the widow of a banker. Some base their selection on the glamour that surrounds certain callings. The crisp white uniform of a nurse, the beauty of an airline hostess, the luxurious office of a business executive, the plaudits of the multitude for an athlete all have tremendous appeal. Some people are swayed by talking with a person who, happy in his own work, feels impelled to convert all who come his way. Others are influenced by their admiration for an acquaintance, whether he be a teacher, lawyer, physician, bricklayer, or farmer. Still others are lured by advertisements in newspapers or magazines or by announcements on radio or television. Propaganda to win recruits for certain callings, such as aviation and nursing, is often persuasive. And still other people are led into work by mere propinquity or by force of economic necessity.

Once a person has entered a field he may be bound by chains forged by his lack of foresight. Especially in semiprofessional and professional occupations he can ill afford to waste the time and money invested in his preparation. The exercise of care and wisdom in his selection may spare him vain pining for what might have been.

Preparatory to making a choice, a young person should endeavor to study all pertinent factors. First, he should acquire an understanding of his aptitudes, abilities, and interests. Second, he should seek a clear knowledge of the nature of the work itself, its requirements, advantages and disadvantages, opportunities, and rewards. He should then strive to reason soundly, basing his thinking on the relations of these groups of facts.

This chapter is intended to assist the student who is contemplating teaching as a career. It attempts to stimulate him in his process of self-discovery, and to aid him in his quest for information about teaching.

APTITUDES, PERSONAL ABILITIES, AND INTERESTS

In scrutinizing his aptitudes, abilities, and interests the student may well refer to Chapter X, where the personal qualities basic for teachers were discussed. He should decide as fairly and as objectively as possible to what extent he now possesses these qualities or can probably cultivate them.

To be sure, no teacher has all these characteristics in exactly the right proportion. Strength along certain lines may offset or balance weakness in others. A person may not have perfect health; yet, by sensibly conserving his strength, he may stand the strain of teaching better than a more robust person who expends his energy unwisely.

The student should not convince himself too easily that his deficiencies in some traits are counterbalanced by his excellence in others. If he ranks uniformly low, and if he thinks it unimportant or impossible to remedy his shortcomings, he should turn to fields where personal characteristics are less significant than in teaching.

In sizing up his competence for teaching, the student is not limited to his own opinions or the personal judgment of a counselor. Doubtless he has taken tests administered by the personnel staff of his college—tests of intelligence, achievement, emotional stability, aptitudes, interests, and physical fitness. For interpretation of his scores, he must rely on his counselor. Although such tests are not infallible, they should not be dismissed lightly.

Although a student may be interested in something for which he has little or no aptitude, his likes and dislikes are one of the best single indicators of possible success in an occupation. Of course,

interests are flexible. Work that once seemed dull and boring may become engrossing and challenging. In general, however, a student who views teaching with distaste should choose another calling.

Personal likes and dislikes probably partially account for the disagreements about teaching revealed by the National Education Association in 1944. Out of 3731 urban and 692 rural teachers, 12 percent in each group regarded teaching as "the most adventurous, the most exciting, the most thrilling of all professions." By way of contrast, 1 percent of the urban and 2 percent of the rural teachers in the group checked "I seldom enjoy teaching."

It may be largely a matter of interests that causes one person, on reaching the retirement age, to look back on his life as one of drudgery whereas another says, "It has been a good life. I would not change if I had to live it all over."

Fortunately, students may have had some experience in working with children. They may have had the informal experience of teaching a younger brother or sister a game or a story, or the somewhat more formal experience of teaching a Sunday-school class or assisting with such groups as Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Junior Red Cross, or 4-H Clubs.

Miss America of 1947, then Barbara Jo Walker and a student at Memphis (Tennessee) State College, found her interest in teaching through church work. She wrote: "While in my teens I taught in the primary department of our church school. Working with those small children was a revelation. To my surprise, I could hold their attention. I loved them, and they returned my love. Like my mother, who taught many years, I discovered real enjoyment in teaching."

Some high schools offer seniors who aspire to teaching an opportunity to explore their interests. In the high school at Decatur, Illinois, a course called Vocational Exploration in Group Work with Children gives last-semester seniors a chance to see if they like a vocation that involves group work with children. They are furnished enriching experiences, not simply clerical and routine tasks. To acquaint them with different age groups they are assigned to a new grade level every six weeks. Their principal activities are:

1. Locating, securing, arranging materials for
 - a. bulletin boards

- b. reference reading
 - c. supplementary reading
 - d. visual aids machines
2. Learning how to
 - a. operate Mimeograph, Ditto, or Rex-o-Graph machines
 - b. make master copies
3. Assisting in the administration of
 - a. group mental tests
 - b. group achievement tests
4. Carrying on remedial work with individual students following the teacher's diagnosis and recommendations in
 - a. spelling
 - b. arithmetic
 - c. reading
5. Working with groups of children in
 - a. directing games
 - b. telling stories
 - c. directing social studies

As a basis for evaluation, the following rating scale was devised at Decatur:

VOCATIONAL EXPLORATION IN GROUP WORK WITH CHILDREN

EVALUATION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT'S WORK

Name of Student
 School Grade Subject Matter

I. *Personal Appearance*

C

Clean, not always careful about clothing. Not always appropriate.

B

Clean, usually careful about clothing. Usually suitable for the occasion.

A

Neat, well groomed. Appropriately dressed at all times.

II. *Punctuality*

C

Sometimes arrives after the class has started and sometimes has to hurry to "beat the bell."

B

Usually on time. Has a few finishing touches to put on the plans for the day. Busy arranging materials for the class.

A

Always on time. Ready for the day. Interested and attentive to the children.

EVALUATION OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT'S WORK (Continued)

III. Performance of Assigned Task

C	B	A
Sometimes has to have further directions and does not always complete attempted task.	Usually follows the directions well and completes the attempted task. Occasionally suggests ways for working procedure.	Follows directions quickly and often devises ways of working more effectively and efficiently.

IV. Initiative

C	B	A
Active. Does what is required. Sometimes senses what is needed and goes ahead without waiting to be told what to do.	Does what is required very well. Offers suggestions rather frequently. Often senses what is needed and goes ahead without waiting to be told what to do.	Energetic. Does more than is required. Originates new plans and carries them to completion. Usually senses what is needed and does it without being told.

V. Ability to Work with Children

C	B	A
Accepted by most of the children. They do not seek his help.	The children understand his explanations and appreciate his help.	Welcomed by the children. Often share their findings and questions with him.

VI. Ability to Work with Adults

C	B	A
Is liked by others. Accepts suggestions. Makes a reasonable effort to put suggestions into effect. Does not encourage suggestions.	Works well as a member of a group. Usually accepts opinion of the majority. Carries a fair share of the load.	Always welcomed by others. Encourages suggestions. No annoying mannerisms. Does not ask for special favors.

VII. Use of Language and Voice

C	B	A
Usually chooses words which are sufficiently discriminating to convey differences in meaning. Sentence structure is usually correct. Expression is neither stimulating nor tiresome. Voice usually carries to the back of the room and is understood by the children.	Words are often colorful and descriptive. Sentences are usually accurate and forceful but do not reflect a high degree of originality. There is variety in expression but there is need for a greater feeling of freedom and relaxation. Voice clear and easily understood.	Words are colorful and descriptive. Sentences are always accurate and forceful. There is variety of expression. Animation and stimulation. Voice pleasant and easily understood.

SUMMARY

What contributions has the Helping Student made to the class and the room?
 What is the average grade of the student? C B A
 Attendance
 Days absent

FACTORS PERTAINING TO TEACHING

Besides appraising his abilities and interests, the student should weigh factors pertaining to teaching itself. He may be confused by contradictory information. On the one hand he finds the drab features of teaching magnified. Even some of his teachers say, "Whatever you do, don't teach." On the other hand he finds only the enticing aspects accented. He meets people who regard teaching as "such easy work." Theirs is the attitude reflected in an unknown author's verses entitled "Teachin'":

Jest a settin' in a school room in a great big easy chair,
And keepin' things a movin' with a lordly sort of air;
Not a thing to do but askin' lot of questions from a book,
Spectin' kids to know the answers though they're not allowed to
look,

That's teachin'!

Jest a drawin' great big money an' a livin' like a lord,
Jest a makin' folks pay taxes from their hard earned stored up
hoard,

Keeps them buyin' books and fixin's that they noways really need,
Snap, I'll say so, Gosh Almighty, easiest livin' ever seed,

That's teachin'!

LENGTH OF PREPARATION

One of the first factors in teaching that the student should consider is whether he is willing to undertake a long and specific professional education. Furthermore, he should realize that the time required for preparation is increasing.

Even a quarter of a century ago many teachers had no special training. In 1931-1932 in Illinois, 126 teachers had no training above the elementary school, and 842 had less schooling than required for graduation from a four-year high school. Of 9873 teachers in one-room country schools, 2919 had not gone beyond the four-year high school. Only 309 in the one-room schools were college or university graduates, and 308 more were within one year of graduation.

But low as the standards were in Illinois, they were probably lower in many other states. In commenting on the situation, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois wrote: "Un-

fortunately we have no comparable data from the other states . . . , but we feel sure that such comparison in most states of the Union would be favorable to Illinois."

Today the period required for preparation for teaching is relatively long. The lowest regular requirements are for certificates issued to rural and elementary school teachers on examination. Few teachers, however, secure their certificates by examination; most of their certificates are based upon college credits. The general requirements for certification were discussed in Chapter XI.

The would-be teacher should acquaint himself with special certification requirements in the field and in the state in which he expects to work. Although he is permitted to teach if he meets legal requirements, they represent only minimal standards. The best positions ordinarily demand much higher qualifications than those required for certification.

COST OF PREPARATION

With the rigorous years of training for teaching inevitably goes cost. Obviously expenses are not the same in all institutions. Usually they are found to be lowest in tax-supported schools. Tuition fees in private colleges and universities are often high. At present, expenses for a year in most teacher-education institutions are likely not to exceed \$1000. A student can obtain precise information about a specific college by consulting the catalogue or by writing to the registrar.

Scholarships and loan funds enable some students to continue in school. Part-time employment is frequently available. Students may even complete their formal education after they begin to teach.

OUTLOOK FOR EMPLOYMENT

Before embarking on his professional education, a prospective teacher will wish to know about the outlook for securing employment. He is concerned not only about current conditions but also about the long-range outlook. He may want information, too, about opportunities in different parts of the country and in different communities.

It goes without saying that teaching is an essential line of work. Although the number of positions fluctuates slightly during booms

and depressions, teachers are less likely to be unemployed in slack times than are workers in luxury lines.

Furthermore, teaching is the largest of the occupations which require college training and professional or semiprofessional skill. It engages the services of over one million persons. To make the picture a little more vivid, we quote from a statement by the Commission on Teacher Education:

The relative size of this body will be made clearer by some comparisons. Let us imagine an "average" community of 10,000 typical of the nation as a whole with respect to distribution of population by age and occupation. Eight hundred of the inhabitants will be less than 5 years of age, hence—with a relatively few nursery school exceptions—not yet involved in regularly organized education. Between the ages of 5 and 19 there will be 2640 boys and girls, of whom 1980, or 75 percent, will be accounted for by attendance at the local schools. Of the 6560 inhabitants 20 years of age or older, 75 will be teachers. In the same population there will be only 13 lawyers and judges, 13 physicians and surgeons, 10 clergymen, and 6 dentists. So far as numbers are concerned, then, the teachers clearly constitute a leading professional group.¹

For the foreseeable future the chances of securing employment as a teacher are good. Normally from 80,000 to 110,000 recruits are needed annually. The rise in the birth rate has created an unprecedented demand for teachers. In 1951 the United States Public Health Service reported 3,833,000 live births. Total births in the twelve-year period 1941-1952 inclusive totaled 40,463,000, as compared with 27,130,000 in the previous twelve-year period 1931-1942. According to the United States Census Bureau elementary-school enrollment is expected to rise to 26,594,000 in 1957, when the peak will be reached. Secondary-school enrollment is expected to rise to 8,122,000 in 1960. For the ten-year period 1949-1950 through 1958-1959, at least 800,000 new elementary teachers will be required to handle new enrollments, replace teachers who withdraw from the profession, and replace emergency teachers. At the high-school level, if we assume a ratio of 25 pupils per teacher, approximately 85,000 new teachers will be needed between 1952 and 1960 to take

¹ Commission on Teacher Education, *Teachers for Our Times*, American Council on Education, 1944, p. 3.

TABLE 23. Total Number of College and University Students Completing Certificate Requirements, According to Regulations of Each of the 48 States, Alaska, District of Columbia, and Hawaii, by Sex, in 1953, Compared to the Number Who Met Such Requirements in 1952²

Type of Preparation	1953			1952 to 1953		
	Men	Women	Total	1952 Total	Net Change	Percent Change
Elementary-school teaching						
120 semester hours	6,052	29,584	35,636	37,649	-2,013	-5.35
90 semester hours	206	1,418	1,624	1,689	-65	-3.85
60 semester hours	812	6,297	7,109	8,123	-1,014	-12.48
30 semester hours	219	1,123	1,342	1,292	+50	+3.87
Elementary total	7,289	38,422	45,711	48,753	-3,042	-6.24
High-school teaching						
Agriculture	1,754	3	1,757	1,891	-134	-7.09
Art	708	1,290	1,998	2,249	-251	-11.16
Commerce	1,950	2,626	4,576	5,165	-589	-11.40
English	1,832	3,742	5,574	6,585	-1,011	-15.35
Foreign language	559	1,135	1,694	1,859	-165	-8.88
Home economics	7	4,311	4,318	4,648	-330	-7.10
Industrial arts	2,467	160	2,627	3,161	-534	-16.89
Journalism	55	63	118	122	-4	-3.28
Library science	88	366	454	456	-2	-.44
Mathematics	1,790	920	2,710	3,142	-432	-13.75
Music	2,079	2,647	4,726	4,882	-156	-3.20
Physical ed. (men)	5,680	...	5,680	6,546	-866	-13.23
Physical ed. (women)	...	2,586	2,586	2,607	-21	-.81
General science	1,319	477	1,796	2,216	-420	-18.95
Biology	1,213	617	1,830	1,995	-165	-8.27
Chemistry	556	166	722	842	-120	-14.25
Physics	278	39	317	373	-56	-15.01
Social sciences	5,487	2,888	8,375	9,406	-1,031	-10.96
Speech	531	827	1,358	1,504	-146	-9.71
Other	1,241	1,011	2,252	1,861	+391	+21.01
High-school total	29,594	25,874	55,468	61,510	-6,042	-9.82
Grand Total	36,883	64,296	101,179	110,263	-9,084	-8.24

Read table thus: Under *Elementary* in 1953 a total of 6052 men and 29,584 women college students will complete programs of 120 semester hours preparation for elementary-school teaching. In 1952 a total of 37,649 college students completed identical programs of preparation. . . . Under *High School* in 1953, a total of 1754 men and 3 women will complete programs of preparation for the teaching of agriculture as a major subject. In 1952 a total of 1891 college students completed identical programs of preparation.

² "The 1953 Teacher Supply and Demand Report," *Journal of Teacher Education*, March, 1953, p. 7.

care of additional enrollments. By the end of the 1950 decade over 20,000 teachers per year will be required for replacement purposes.

The number of college students currently finishing courses entitling them to certificates under the laws of their respective states is too small to meet the demand for teachers. A comprehensive study of teacher supply and demand by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards showed that 101,179 students completed standard certification requirements in 1953. As Table 23 shows, this was a drop of 8.24 percent from 1952. Of this number, 45,711 were licensed to teach in elementary school. Only 35,636 of this group had finished four-year programs specifically designed for elementary-school teaching. The others had completed 90, 60, or only 30 semester hours. The number eligible for high-school certificates was 55,468. Since normally about twice as many elementary as secondary teachers are needed, the imbalance in the supply is obvious.

The Commission reported that 160,000 new teachers would be needed in the lower grades in the fall of 1953. With only 35,636 fully prepared graduates from colleges to fill this demand, the shortage is appalling.

The Commission also reported a prospective serious shortage in the high schools, particularly in the fields of mathematics, science, agriculture, industrial arts, boys' health, and physical education. Home economics teachers, well-trained women in the health field, and librarians have been in short supply for years.

As far as teachers of special education are concerned, there are shortages in many cities. A survey in 1951 revealed a shortage in 51 (66 percent) of the 77 cities covered. (See Table 24.)

So many factors affect the relationship between demand and supply, however, that the need for teachers cannot be accurately predicted. Comparison of the number of positions to be filled with the number of teachers certificated annually tells only part of the story. Some who are certificated never teach and others teach only a few years. Both groups constitute a potential teacher reserve.

The threat to our national security in the mid-twentieth century probably means a critical teacher situation for a number of years. Young people will enter military service or take defense jobs instead of going to college, and many teachers already in the profession

TABLE 24. Number of Teaching Positions for Each Type of Special Class, by Size of City³

Type of Special Classes	Group A		Group B		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Physically handicapped						
Speech	105	9	401	6	506	7
Sight conservation	54	4	323	5	377	5
Deaf and hard-of-hearing	75	6	396	6	471	6
Orthopedic	60	5	378	6	438	6
Cerebral palsy	45	4	102	2	147	2
Health improvement and malnourished	29	2	392	6	421	6
Blind	11	1	50	1	61	1
Tuberculosis	2	^a	68	1	70	1
Lip reading	6	^a	12	^a	18	^a
Cardiac	3	^a	2	^a	5	^a
Mentally and emotionally handicapped						
Retarded mental development	432	35	2764	44	3196	43
Remedial reading	71	6	385	6	456	6
Emotionally disturbed (socially maladjusted)	23	2	155	2	178	2
Epileptic	3	^a	19	^a	22	^a
Homebound	238	20	586	9	824	11
Hospital	47	4	172	3	219	3
Miscellaneous	14	1	13	^a	27	^a
Total	1218	100	6218	100	7436	100
Northeast ^b	615 (18)	51	3034 (7)	49	3649 (25)	49
North Central	262 (10)	22	1739 (10)	28	2001 (20)	27
South	217 (12)	18	266 (6)	4	483 (18)	7
West	124 (6)	10	1179 (7)	19	1303 (13)	18

^a Less than 0.5 percent.^b Figures in parentheses represent the number of cities reporting.

will leave for higher-paying types of employment or for a branch of the armed services.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT

Ambitious young people are interested not only in the outlook for employment but also in chances for advancement. They look for-

³ Sidney H. Firestone and Jacob S. Orleans, "The Shortage of Special Class Teachers in Large Cities," *ibid.*, March, 1953, p. 61.

ward to securing eventually a better type of position than their first.

For successful teachers who have had suitable preparation and demonstrate continued professional growth, teaching is not a blind-alley job. Advancement is more than likely to come to those who prove their worth.

The avenues to better positions are legion. A teacher may begin in a small school system and then, from time to time, take more desirable positions in other communities. Or he may stay in the same school system and through merit and effort receive promotions within the system. Often he is transferred to an administrative or supervisory position. Unfortunately, a topnotch teacher is all too frequently rewarded with such an appointment rather than with a position that will utilize his teaching skill fully. An outstanding teacher who prefers to remain in the classroom should be given the same recognition and salary that would be his in an administrative or supervisory post.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Physical Surroundings and Health Conditions. A teacher has a right to ask about the physical surroundings in which he will work and live. The school plants in progressive communities are cheerful and well designed, with up-to-date equipment and high standards for heating, lighting, ventilation, and cleanliness. However, the shocking neglect of school buildings in many districts bears witness to the truth of this charge:

"We are still in the era of inadequate and dirty toilets, inadequate facilities for food and rest. It is physically possible to do effective teaching in an uncomfortable environment, but the chances are against it. Industry, unlike many boards of education, is not laughing about complaints of monotony, drabness, and dirt."⁴

Living conditions, like the immediate school surroundings, tend to vary inversely with the size of the community. They are dependent, too, on the amount that a teacher can afford to pay. Even before the housing shortage became acute, a teacher often had difficulty in finding homelike quarters. Now the problem is even more baffling. For a single teacher a bleak spare bedroom rented by a

⁴ Dorothy McCuskey, "Teacher-Community Cooperation," *Journal of the National Education Association*, December, 1948, p. 596.

reluctant householder must often suffice. In small communities the lack of inviting eating places is even more of a drawback than sub-standard housing.

Despite the fact that the physical surroundings in which a teacher works and lives are often far from utopian, teaching has a favorable place among the professions and white-collar occupations with respect to physical and health hazards. Many school boards provide for periodic health examinations for their employees. Teachers are considered good risks for all types of insurance.

Apparently, teachers as a group consider themselves healthy. In a study made by the National Education Association in 1944, nearly five thousand teachers were asked to give an estimate of the general condition of their health—excellent, good, fair, or poor. "Only a microscopic fraction reported poor health; less than 10 percent of any group reported merely fair health. Fifty-four percent of the urban and 48 percent of the rural teachers reported excellent health."

However, teaching is a sedentary occupation which entails considerable nervous tension. Accordingly teachers need recreation and outside activities that differ from those connected with school work.

Teaching Load, Hours of Work, Vacations. Just how exhausting is the nervous strain in teaching is contingent in part upon the teaching load. Not only for its influence on a teacher's general health and morale but for its bearing upon his efficiency, the load is a matter of the utmost concern. Myriad factors are involved in computing a teacher's load: total pupil hours, size of classes, number of classes per day, hours of preparation, length of school day, demands of the community outside of school, number of problem children, assignment of classes in various fields, and extracurricular responsibilities. In the last analysis the teacher himself is the one who can best tell how much of a load he can carry, because teachers, pupils, and situations differ.

In 1952-1953 for the country as a whole the average number of pupils enrolled per teacher was 28. The highest averages of enrolled pupils per teacher were in the South and West, and the low averages were in three rural states in New England and nine sparsely settled states in the Montana-Kansas-Wisconsin triangle. The assumption that larger numbers of pupils per teacher are found in urban areas is not supported by the facts as far as state averages are concerned.

Three of the items in Raleigh Schorling's "An Evolving Bill of Rights for Teachers" relate to teacher load:

1. The right to teach classes that are not too large—in general, from ten to twenty pupils.
2. The right to have time in the school day for planning.
3. The right to a 45-hour week.

Perhaps to laymen a plea for a 45-hour week seems superfluous, for to anyone who has never taught school a teacher's hours seem short. School is in session only six hours a day five days a week. But untold hours must be spent on tasks related to school work. A study published in 1951 by the Research Division of the National Education Association revealed that the actual instruction of pupils takes little more than half of the average teacher's working time. Nearly as many hours go into correcting papers, preparing lessons, performing study hall and monitor duties, making reports, and sponsoring activities. These and other duties—attending conferences, participating in community activities, supervising playgrounds, making collections for milk money, charitable drives, etc., taking care of lunchroom duties, helping pupils make up work, and conferring with parents—give teachers grounds for feeling that their work is never done.

To many teachers a five-day week and liberal vacations are alluring features. Often, however, they use the summer for attending summer school, traveling, or working, sometimes in lines related to school, such as summer camps.

The disadvantage of receiving no salary during long vacations is offset by the practice in some school systems of employing teachers on a twelve-month basis. Where teachers are employed on this basis, the board of education may require them either to render some service, such as assisting in developing curriculum materials or directing educational and recreational activities, or to pursue in-service education by participating in workshops, attending summer school, or traveling.

Social and Professional Associates. The depressing working and living conditions that a teacher may encounter are to some extent compensated for by stimulating social and professional associates. He may engage in numberless forms of community activities. Usu-

ally he is invited to affiliate with representative civic, service, fraternal, and religious groups. He meets cultured and respected people. If he is willing to assume his share of responsibility for the welfare of the community, he has an open sesame to a position of leadership that is socially satisfying.

Among his colleagues a teacher finds congenial friends. From mutually shared interests in intellectual pursuits he derives inspiration and pleasure. In professional organizations he broadens his horizons. Local, state, and national associations bring him and other teachers together in pleasant and helpful relationships.

Best of all, a teacher is in daily contact with youth. Loula Grace Erdman, a teacher and prize-winning novelist, gives this as a reason for her decision to stick to teaching. She points out that "a teacher has the great privilege of constantly being able to renew her youth. It is impossible to be around young people without absorbing their eager spirit and searching point of view." From their buoyancy, their ambition, and their confidence a teacher gains refreshment and vigor. Even though he cannot stay the passing years, he can remain eternally young in spirit.

Restrictions on Personal Freedom. Since a teacher holds a place of responsibility and distinction in the community, people may meddle in his affairs and attempt to supervise his conduct. This is usually not true in large cities, but in small towns they often try to dictate the details of a teacher's personal life. They concern themselves with a host of matters—dress, church attendance, political affiliation, choice of recreation, smoking, staying out late at night, and leaving town on week ends.

Not many years ago teachers' contracts were studded with specific requirements for conduct. Stipulations against smoking, drinking, dancing, and "going out" on school nights were not at all uncommon. One teacher's contract exacted these pledges:

I promise to take a vital interest in all phases of Sunday-school work, donating of my time, service, and money without stint for the uplift and benefit of the community. I promise to abstain from all dancing, immodest dressing, and any other conduct unbecoming a teacher and a lady. I promise not to go out with any young men except in so far as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday-school work. I promise not to fall in love, to become engaged or secretly marry. . . . I promise to sleep at

least eight hours a night, to eat carefully, and to take every precaution to keep in the best of health and spirits in order that I may be better able to render efficient service to my pupils.⁵

Happily, the situation is improving. Two paragraphs in the *Handbook for Teachers of Tulsa, Oklahoma*, attest a tolerance not confined to any one city:

You will find the attitude of citizens towards teachers to be one of friendly acceptance, a person-to-person relationship. Teachers here are not a breed set apart, looked down upon, looked up to, nor expected to live restricted lives. Of course, any teacher who comes to Tulsa will wish to lead an exemplary life because he is an outstanding person. Otherwise, he would not be invited to teach in Tulsa. . . .

He is expected to lead a normal life, participating in community activities the same as any other citizen. He is expected to rear his family and be a good citizen of the city, the state, the nation. These things he will do, not merely because he is a teacher, but because he is an honest, loyal, upright person.

Nevertheless, there are still communities where a teacher's behavior is so circumscribed by petty regulations that some of the best young people reject teaching as a career. Understandably, they want a chance to lead normal lives, to mingle freely, and to enjoy pleasures that other adults accept as a matter of course.

A glaring restriction still found in many contracts is a prohibition against marriage for women teachers. Not only do many communities refuse to employ married women but they specify that the contract of a woman who marries during the school term shall be canceled. Their opposition to women teachers being married can be traced to a combination of reasons: belief that a woman's place is in the home, fear of divided interests that will lead to neglect of school work, and possible interruption of service for maternity leave.

There is no reliable evidence to prove that a teacher's efficiency hinges upon her marital status. Several studies show that women who were competent teachers before marriage continue to do good work after marriage, and that those who were incompetent remain incompetent.

Some authorities advance cogent arguments in favor of married

⁵ Quoted by E. W. Knight, *Education in the United States*, Ginn and Company, 3rd ed., 1951, pp. 360-361.

women teachers. They believe that these teachers have a better understanding of children, better-rounded personalities, and greater emotional stability than unmarried women. A study by the National Education Association in 1944 showed more married than unmarried women in the high-morale group.

The removal of the ban on married women is likely to have a salutary effect on the profession itself. Gifted young women who are deterred by the stigma they think attaches to the "old-maid school teacher" may decide to cast their lot with teaching. Furthermore, the teaching population may gain stability that will make the saying, "Teachers are a mob of mobile maidens meditating matrimony," outmoded.

SECURITY

Salary. Although economic reward alone should not tip the scales in favor of an occupation, anyone would be unrealistic not to take it into account. A teacher wants to be certain that his calling will provide an income commensurate with his preparation, ability, and service. He wants to be able to maintain a comfortable standard of living without undue worry over financial affairs.

A person who is concerned primarily with amassing wealth should not look to teaching as a career. In general, financial returns are greater in business and industry and in other professions than in teaching. However, in spite of the fact that the monetary rewards are not so great as those of some other groups, teaching is not, as Henry Van Dyke contends, "the worst paid . . . of all the vocations."

To offset their modest salaries teachers have steady employment on a yearly basis with little risk. Ordinarily they receive their pay checks regularly. During a depression businessmen who in times of prosperity look a trifle condescendingly upon teachers regard them with a tinge of envy. A not unique point of view was expressed in the 1930's by a prosperous businessman: "Teachers are always complaining about low salaries. They forget that they are not taking the chances of businessmen or facing their uncertainties. They get their checks regularly, and they know in advance how much they are going to get."

Then, too, teachers are spared the expense of purchasing the costly

equipment and furnishing the expensive offices that are often necessary for people in other lines of work. They do not have to undergo a "starving period" as lawyers or doctors sometimes do while building up a practice. They work in buildings provided and equipped by others, and at once receive steady compensation.

Many factors affect the size of a teacher's salary. First, men are likely to receive higher salaries than women with equivalent qualifications, even in positions of equal difficulty and importance. However, a study of salary schedules in 1950-1951 by the Research Division of the National Education Association showed that salary differentials based on sex alone are on the decline. Only 20 percent of the school systems reported that men teachers were paid more than women.

Second, the school level at which the teacher is employed has a bearing on his salary. In 1948-1949 the Research Division of the National Education Association reported that in twenty-seven states high-school teachers received an average of \$500 more per year than teachers in elementary schools. Such differences are disappearing as more and more systems adopt a single salary schedule based on equivalent preparation and experience rather than on grade level.

Third, salaries vary among the states. Naturally, economic conditions in a state influence salaries. As was mentioned in Chapter VII, in 1952-1953 the average annual salaries for classroom teachers only ranged from \$1774 in the lowest state, Mississippi, to \$4625 in the highest state, New York. The average for the United States was \$3405.

Salaries also differ among communities. Usually, the highest salaries are paid in large cities, and the lowest ones in rural areas. Table 25 shows the median salaries paid in 1952-1953 to educational workers of different types in 2647 cities classified according to population.

According to the Research Division of the National Education Association, which has been conducting biennial surveys of salaries paid in urban school districts since 1922-1923, the median salaries for 1952-1953 were the highest reported to date. For example, for all regular classroom teachers (kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and high-school teachers) median salaries in 1952-1953 for urban school districts were: Group I, \$4953; Group II, \$3932; Group

TABLE 25. Median Salaries Paid Employees in School Systems During 1952-1953⁶

Type of School Employee	Population Groups					
	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Group VI
	Over 500,000	100,000 to 500,000	30,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 30,000	5000 to 10,000	2500 to 5000
Classroom teachers						
Elementary school	\$ 4,817	\$ 3,756	\$ 3,682	\$3,437	\$3,190	\$3,118
Junior high school	4,897	4,023	4,060	3,695	3,436	3,233
High school	5,526	4,360	4,292	3,954	3,620	3,498
Junior college	5,758	5,405	4,942	4,413	3,700	...
Principals						
Elementary school						
Teaching	5,000	4,274	4,231	3,936	3,586	3,483
Supervising	7,305	5,703	5,316	4,000	4,564	4,388
Junior high school (total)	7,773	6,220	5,848	5,221	4,365	3,917
High school (total)	9,156	6,892	6,523	5,710	5,082	4,598
Junior college	9,813	8,500	7,350	6,067	4,950	...
Administrative and supervisory staff						
Superintendents of schools	18,382	13,000	10,290	8,053	6,795	6,043
Directors and supervisors of						
Educational divisions						
Elementary education	7,037	6,065	5,600	4,873	4,522	4,300
Secondary education	6,900	6,454	6,100	5,600	4,933	4,650
Special education	7,115	5,881	5,250	4,000	4,033	4,200
Special subjects:						
Vocational education	8,216	6,438	5,850	5,005	4,350	4,950
Physical and health education	6,900	6,124	5,400	4,656	3,940	4,100
Music	6,610	5,807	5,000	4,243	3,806	4,050
Art	6,610	5,855	4,900	4,108	3,440	...
Manual or industrial arts	6,610	6,252	5,400	4,180	3,900	...
Home economics	6,900	5,790	5,050	3,963	3,150	...

III, \$3898; Group IV, \$3615; Group V, \$3361; and Group VI, \$3275. These medians were from 151 to 96 percent higher than the similar medians in 1930-1931. However, in terms of purchasing power the increase was not so great as might appear at first glance.

The purchasing power of the dollar is measured by indexes that show the change in prices from some specified date to another. Conversely, these indexes show the relative quantity of goods and services that a dollar will buy.

The most commonly used index is the Consumer Price Index of the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

⁶ Adapted from National Education Association, Research Division, *Salaries and Salary Schedules of Urban School Employees, 1952-53*, Research Bulletin, April, 1953, pp. 72-78.

For the past two decades the Index has been based on the five years 1935-1939 as 100.0, and has measured the percent of change in prices during this period.

The Index for the school year 1952-1953 is estimated at 190.0. This means that current prices are 90 percent higher than in 1935-1939.

To determine the purchasing power of a current salary in terms of 1935-1939 dollars, the salary is divided by the Index, and multiplied by 100. For example, the \$3898 median salary of classroom teachers in Group III has a purchasing power ($\$3898 \div 190.0 \times 100.0$) in 1935-1939 dollars of \$2052.

A measure of purchasing power is needed to interpret the apparent increases in teachers' salaries in recent years. To take again the Group III classroom teacher as an example, there was an increase from \$1763 to \$3898 in current dollars paid, or 121 percent, from 1940-1941 to 1952-1953. But in 1935-1939 purchasing power the increase was from \$1727 to \$2052, or only about 19 percent.

During World War II the median salaries of most groups of teachers were worth considerably less in purchasing power than in 1940-1941. For some teachers, this condition still remains. For example, the median salary of classroom teachers in the large cities of Group I is actually 2 percent less in purchasing power in 1952-1953 than it was in 1940-1941.⁷

Furthermore, the federal income tax has nearly wiped out increases in purchasing power. Prior to 1939 the tax did not apply to public-school teachers and it was still at low rates in 1940-1941. The situation may be illustrated by noting the effect upon classroom teachers in Group III. Their median salaries increased 19 percent in purchasing power from 1940-1941 to 1952-1953, but the federal income tax payment, assuming one dependent and current tax rates, left an increase of only 4 percent over 1940-1941.

In comparison with earnings in other occupations, teachers have lost ground since the outset of World War II. For example, during the decade of war and readjustment the salaries of Group III classroom teachers increased 121 percent in current dollars while the average earnings of employed persons increased about 155 percent. Figure 17⁸ shows trends in average annual earnings of all persons in the United States working for wages, vs. the average salaries of teachers, for the years 1939 through 1948.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸ National Education Association, Research Division, *Teachers in the Public Schools*, Research Bulletin, December, 1949, p. 140.

In our consideration of salaries we should not overlook the fact that the average salary of teachers may be seriously misleading. In 1952-1953 about 20 percent of all employed teachers received less than \$2500, and 42 percent received between \$2500 and \$3499. In other words, two out of every three teachers were paid less than \$3500 for the year's work.

In comparison with other teachers, rural school teachers have especially low salaries. In 1951-1952 their average salary was \$2484,

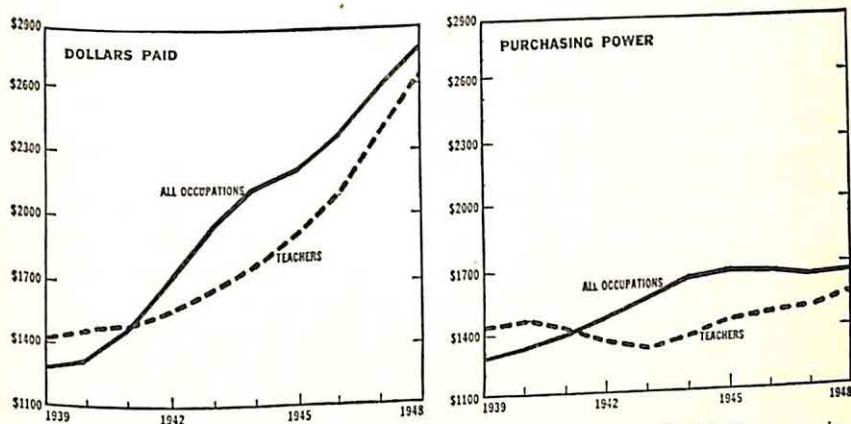


FIGURE 17. Trends in Average Annual Earnings of All Persons in the United States Working for Salaries or Wages, vs. Average Salaries (Estimated on Calendar-Year Basis) of Teachers. (Research Division, National Education Association.)

or 35.5 percent lower than the overall average for all public-school teachers. Although the salary of rural teachers almost tripled between 1936-1937 and 1951-1952 in terms of equivalent dollars, they made only about 50 percent more than they had fifteen years earlier.

There are signs, however, that point toward improvement in salaries. Thirty-two states have passed legislation providing for minimum salaries for professionally prepared teachers. California has a minimum salary of \$3200; Nevada has a minimum salary of \$3400; Connecticut pays \$2800; Maryland pays \$2500; and Illinois pays \$2400.

The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards adopted these policies in 1952:

1. The best interests of the children, the public, and the teaching profession will be served if every responsible administrative unit establishes definite, professional salary schedules. The establishment and essential revisions of such schedules usually will be most satisfactory if arrived at cooperatively by school boards, school administrators, and teachers. The application of the schedule should be consistent throughout.

2. Teachers of comparable preparation and experience should receive comparable salaries, men and women alike, without discrimination between those in urban and rural schools, or among those in elementary, secondary, and higher education. Teaching loads should be brought into reasonable adjustment. Superintendents, consultants, and other administrative and supervisory employees should be paid salaries as rewarding as those paid to employees with comparable responsibilities in the general community.

3. The initial position of each teacher on the salary schedule should be determined by his amount of preparation and years of experience, with reasonable credit being given for teaching experience in other school systems, whether in the same state or in other states.

4. Such a schedule should provide beginning salaries of \$3200 to \$3600 a year for four-year college graduates without teaching experience but professionally prepared to teach. Beginning salaries in schedules should provide for a differential of \$300 or more for each additional year of acceptable preparation.

5. To secure and retain competent teachers in service, annual salary increases which meet the following criteria are recommended:

- a. Annual salary increases should start with the second year of service;
- b. For each additional year of acceptable education the amount and number of the annual increments should be increased;
- c. The increases should bring each teacher's salary to a level at least twice that of the initial salary within fifteen years;
- d. Salary schedules should enable teachers with more than five years of acceptable professional preparation with successful experience and superior usefulness to the community to receive annual salaries of \$8000 or more.

Most heartening of all is the growing public awareness of the need for higher salaries for teachers. The Advertising Council, National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, United States Chamber of Commerce, press, influential civic leaders, radio artists, and movie stars are lending their support to a campaign to drive

home to the public the importance of reasonable professional remuneration for teachers.

Illustrative of the praiseworthy articles that have focused attention on the salary problem is an editorial by Carl A. Gray, president of a Connecticut manufacturing company, which appeared in *The Saturday Evening Post*:

The cost-of-living increases that have removed schoolteachers generally from the semistarvation to the able-to-get-along category have merely swept the problem under the carpet. They have solved nothing basic. Communities which granted modest salary increases to their teachers have settled back smugly with the self-righteous feeling that they have done right by the schoolma'am. The real problem is the attraction of our best young men and women into the teaching profession, by making it a profession in fact as well as in name. A teacher, as a professional person dedicated to the education of young Americans, deserves more than a bare living.

As a manufacturer, I have long marveled at the fact that a good bench hand in a factory makes more money than a good teacher; that a shop foreman nine times out of ten gets a fatter pay envelope than a school principal or even a school superintendent. This is a negative way of putting it, but it is the same negative mistake that the teachers themselves made last year in driving for high wages. They compared their wage with that made by bartenders, truck drivers and others. What they should have done was compare their wage with the prevailing income for other professional groups.

I am old-fashioned enough to believe that the hallmark of a professional worker is his primary concern with service, with the profit motive secondary. A clergyman or a physician who had the dollar uppermost in mind would not be a good professional worker. But you can't get away from the fact that men and women enter a profession with mixed motives. They want to be of service but, at the same time, they want the means for a good life.

Some people say that there are plenty of poor teachers who are not worth any more than they are getting. That is true. But it is a potent argument for hiking the salaries of teachers to a level that compares favorably with other professional workers. There is a shortage of good teachers for the simple reason that the cream of the college crop is skimmed off by medicine, law, engineering, dentistry and so on. I know several young men and women of superior mentality who are now in college and who would like nothing better than to teach. Their zeal is

quickly dampened when they find out the economic facts of a teacher's life. Perhaps a look at the top side of teachers' pay statistics would reassure them, but that is seldom emphasized.

It is a paradox that in America we have invested millions in educational plants and have been miserly in spending money for the only thing that really counts in a school, the teachers. Mark Hopkins on the end of a log might have been a university, but the average American school, costing thousands of dollars and staffed by worried, insecure and underpaid teachers, is a travesty on education.

The only way we can attract top-flight men and women to the tremendously important job of educating our children is to make it worth while. I'm fed up with the penny pinching of communities that will spend millions on football stadiums, golf courses, roads, parks and public buildings, and then see red when teachers ask for a decent wage.

There isn't a man worth his salt who can't look back and remember a teacher who lifted him at the right moment to get a look at new horizons, who opened new vistas for him. Often he was a poorly paid teacher, as far as money went. He got his reward in more durable satisfactions. But I'm not sentimental about it. As a businessman, I believe we get what we pay for. If we want to improve the quality of teaching in America let's go at it from the point of view of seeing how much, not how little, we can afford to pay. Any manufacturer knows that a good supervisor is worth his weight in gold. How much is a good teacher worth who works, not with iron or steel or brass, but with young minds?

It is a challenge that has not yet been met, and will not be until the businessmen in every community insist that their schools be operated, not in the same way, but as efficiently as any well-conducted factory. In so far as better pay will produce that result, let's provide it.⁹

Pension and Retirement Allowances. Understandably enough, to a youth on the threshold of his career the prospect of a pension may not constitute a lure. It is reassuring to know, however, that most teachers are protected by retirement systems.

The National Education Association defines a pension as "the portion of the allowance which is based on public funds," and a retirement allowance as "the total annual benefit which is paid to a retired member." State retirement laws are in effect in every state in the Union. In addition there are a few local- or county-school pension and retirement plans. Although the plans take many

⁹ Carl A. Gray, "A Teacher's Worth More Than the Schoolhouse," *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 9, 1948, p. 168.

forms, retirement is usually permissive at sixty-five and compulsory at sixty-eight or seventy. The allowance is ordinarily related to length of service, a larger benefit being paid for a longer period of service.

The plans vary greatly in their financial structure. A joint-contributory retirement system is more reliable than a noncontributory plan. Under a joint-contributory plan money is contributed by the state and by the teachers. In 1947-1948 members of state retirement systems contributed on the average from \$5 to \$246 a year per member. The average per-member contribution from public funds ranged from \$25 to \$200 in the reserve plans under which funds are built up for teachers to be retired in the future.

The trend is toward basing joint-contributory retirement systems on actuarial science. Two-thirds of the present retirement laws require actuarial evaluations and, to some extent at least, meet actuarial standards. Delaware and New Mexico are the only states that still have noncontributory retirement systems.

Benefits for retired teachers are not large, and they should be raised. According to a report on teacher retirement published in June, 1948, the median annual retirement allowance for superannuation or service that was paid under 67 state and local joint-contributory retirement systems was \$636.20, or approximately \$53 a month. However, this was more than twice the average social security benefit paid to private employees. Furthermore, over \$1000 was paid under 25 state and 14 local retirement systems, and over \$1800 under 16 state and 5 local systems. By 1950-1951 the median normal retirement allowance paid by 76 state and local systems was approximately \$98 a month.

Most plans have special provisions for disability retirement allowances. Usually retirement for disability is limited to permanent disability. If the disability is clearly temporary, the member's account is on an inactive status until his return to teaching.

One of the current problems is to arrange for reciprocity between states. The laws should be changed so that teachers who move across state lines can receive credit for out-of-state service.

Another problem is to protect and improve retirement systems. Benefits under the federal Social Security Act have increased to such an extent that some public-school retirement systems suffer by com-

parison. Willard E. Givens, former Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, predicts that during the next decade one of three roads will be chosen by each state:

1. The extensive improvement of its existing public retirement systems with no sharing of funds or responsibility with the federal social security program.
2. The "integration" of present local and state retirement systems with federal social security.
3. The liquidation of existing systems and the substitution thereof of federal social security.

The National Council on Teacher Retirement of the National Education Association urges teachers to support the first plan. It views with concern the abolition of state retirement systems in Delaware, Iowa, Oregon, South Dakota, and Wyoming, and the modification of state retirement systems in Virginia and Mississippi.

Leaves of Absence. Quite as indispensable to security as arrangements for retirement are safeguards for teachers who are temporarily incapacitated. The welfare of the teacher as well as of the school is served if teachers are given financial support when absent because of illness. Sick leave is mentioned in the laws of 23 states and in most city school districts.

Although practices are not uniform, the majority of school systems grant a week or two of sick leave annually with full pay. In many cases the number of years of service determines the amount of sick leave. Some systems have a cumulative plan under which from twenty to twenty-five days of unused sick leave may accumulate.

Leaves of absence for reasons other than illness are permitted in many systems. Usually teachers may be absent for several days without loss of pay for justifiable reasons like illness or death in the family. More extended leaves of absence for travel or professional improvement are granted, usually without pay, by most systems. Teachers are guaranteed, however, that their positions will be held for them.

Tenure. Other measures for security are meaningless unless there is assurance of tenure. A teacher should be certain that once he has obtained a position and proved his ability to fill it satisfactorily, he will be protected against unjust dismissal.

Ordinarily teachers are employed under three types of agreement. Under the first, they are employed for a definite period of time, usually for one year. More than half of the rural and small-town schools employ teachers for one year at a time.

Under the second, teachers receive continuing contracts. They are retained for an indefinite term, but the school board may terminate their employment at will.

Under the third, teachers are given permanent tenure after a probationary period. During probation they may be dismissed at the will of the board, but after the trial period they may continue in the same position for an indefinite term, subject to their services being efficient. They may be dismissed only for good cause and after a public hearing. Immoral or unprofessional conduct or incompetence may be cause for dismissal. Nearly 40 percent of all teachers have permanent tenure.

Three-fourths of the states have some type of protection for all or a large part of their teachers. In return for this protection against dismissal through partisan, factional, selfish, commercial, or political interference, teachers should fulfill their contractual obligations as fully as they expect a board of education to honor its part of the contract. They should give reasonable notice if they do not desire to remain in their position. They should manifest willingness to continue their professional growth. They should be as ready to sanction the removal of an inefficient teacher as to prevent the dismissal of an efficient teacher.

INTANGIBLE REWARDS

In recent years there has been emphasis, and properly so, on the material rewards of teaching. However, for a real teacher the most gratifying rewards are intangible and immaterial. Teaching is a service occupation that demands the everlasting and unceasing gift of self. Beyond a certain point mere increase in salary will not bring to teaching the kind of people most needed. George Herbert Palmer of Harvard once wrote:

The idea, sometimes advanced, that the professions might be ennobled by paying them powerfully, is fantastic. Their great attraction is their removal from sordid aims. More money should certainly be spent on several of them. Their members should be better protected against want,

anxiety, neglect, and bad conditions of labor. To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well. Yet in that increase of salaries which is urgently needed, care should be used not to allow the attention of the professional man to be diverted from what is important—the outgo of his work—and become fixed on what is merely incidental—his income. . . . Professional men are not so silly as to despise money; but after all, it is interest in their work, and not the thought of salary, which predominantly holds them.¹⁰

Among the intangible rewards of teaching are the opportunity to do creative work, the prestige of the calling, and the opportunity for service.

Opportunity for Creative Work. A young person who seeks challenging creative work may well consider teaching. Here is no factory-line job of dry-as-dust routine. Here is a creative task with unlimited incentives for exercising judgment, initiative, and originality. Each school day brings the promise of new and stirring adventure. Each day brings the privilege of teaching in a manner that John Mason Brown characterizes as “eye-opening, ear-quickenings, vista-exploring, and exciting.”

The creative aspect of teaching is accentuated in an excerpt from an address to a group of women teachers:

Have you ever stopped to analyze the teaching act and compare it with other types of work? Study the teacher at work with 30, 40, or 50 boys and girls. She remembers all she has heard about individual differences. She is plagued by the fact that there are three in her class who have IQ's above 140 and must be helped to live up to their capacities. For five and one-half hours she pours out herself, now lifting the group to heights of interest, enthusiasm, initiative, now pulling them along to diligence and perseverance, appealing to the slow learner and to the swift, the willing and the reluctant. Many days hers is as exhaustive and creative a role as that of a Marian Anderson singing to 5,000 people or a Judith Anderson carrying audiences night after night through the agonies of the Medea. She is Eve Curie in search of radium, Bette Davis at the end of a day before a camera, Edna St. Vincent Millay writing “Finis” to “The Buck in the Snow.” She is the surgeon at the end of an operation, the judge who has decided on the custody of children in a divorce case.

¹⁰ George Herbert Palmer, *The Ideal Teacher*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910, pp. 6-7.

Creativity leaves one, whatever her art, be it music, drama, or teaching, with a fatigue that is good. Stop your friends when they begin to commiserate with you and say, "Of course I'm tired. I've had a wonderful day." And then tell them all you have accomplished with your pupils.¹¹

Prestige. The esteem in which the public holds a calling may have considerable weight in influencing vocational choice. Unstinted social recognition is necessary if teaching is to appeal to capable recruits. Some years ago Hartmann ranked, according to prestige, 25 occupations in the judgment of 100 representatives of other occupations. He found that no kind of teaching was listed below ninth place.

The public school teacher stands lowest among the accepted professional groups, but definitely above the great body of business, industrial, and commercial pursuits. If the public school teacher lacks caste, it must be only with the numerically small professional groups who stand above her; certainly this does not hold for the great body of citizens who fall below her in "status." If "average" social status is represented by the mean positions of such diverse vocations as salesman, nurse, bookkeeper, farmer, and carpenter, then there is not the slightest doubt that teachers as a class stand above these in "repute." In the eyes of the well-established professions, the school teacher may well suffer that uncertain appraisal which has historically been the fate of every semi-profession during its transitional stages but in the eyes of the larger body of non-professional claimants she stands definitely among the elect.¹²

In 1950, according to a nation-wide survey conducted by Elmo Roper, teachers were considered the most useful members of a community. Ten percent voted for lawyers as the most important people in a community; 13 percent for merchants; 20 percent for the mayor or some other top public official; and 27 percent for the clergy. Teachers led with a vote of 31 percent.

Young people who hesitate to enter teaching because they think that it is devoid of prestige may be unaware of reasons for the layman's attitude. First of all there are innumerable misconceptions

¹¹ Maud R. Hardman, "We Women Teachers," *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, Fall, 1948, p. 12.

¹² George W. Hartmann, "The Prestige of Occupations," *Personnel Journal*, October, 1934, p. 151.

deeply ingrained in popular opinion. Participants in the Kalamazoo Conference sponsored in 1952 by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards took cognizance of the situation in a section report. "Many shibboleths, catch phrases, slogans, and fallacious beliefs have grown up about teachers and their work. These should be challenged for accuracy and validity. Acquiescence toward repeated folklores serves only to encourage the reiteration." The report singled out sixteen points for refutation. Among them were the validity of analogies between teaching and the medical and legal professions, always to the disparagement of teaching, and the accuracy of the old saws, "Any teacher can teach anything" and "Any one can teach."

A second source of the profession's shaky social standing has its origin in the traditionally low economic status of teachers. In our society with its predilection for measuring values with a price tag, "the poorly paid custodian of the gateway to 'culture,'" to borrow Mead's words, does not command as much adulation as a tycoon of industry. How well this question, from a letter published in the "People's Forum" in a daily newspaper, crystallizes a common sentiment: "If you [teachers] are so smart, why aren't you rich?"

A third reason for grudging recognition stems from the teachers' own belittling of their calling. Since they are prone to say apologetically, "I'm just a school teacher," others take them at their word and treat them as second-class citizens. They could profitably heed the sound advice of Edwin A. Lahey, a columnist for the *Chicago Daily News*: "It's about time that the school teacher realized his importance and acted the part. In the 'American way of life' we talk about, there is nothing quite as essential as the system of free public education, controlled by local government. And the essence of that system is in the school teacher."

Opportunity for Service. Foremost among the appeals of teaching is the knowledge that one is rendering genuine service to humanity and to civilization.

A teacher sees, and knows, and fosters the growth and development of children. To them he becomes

the living world
The library of a dead past,
And the encouragement of a mighty future.

Since no two children are alike, he is ever alert to individual needs. "He quickens the indolent, encourages the eager, and steadies the unstable." Truly "the excitement of teaching comes from the fact that one is teaching a subject one loves to individuals who are worth more than all the money in the world."

Sometimes pupils express their gratitude for a teacher's help and understanding. They bring "red apples" in their comments: "I always feel that I can talk things over with you" and "I enjoyed the lesson today." They are represented by the little boy who asked the editor of a Texas newspaper to print a kiss for his teacher because, as he said, "She's my teacher, and I love her most of anything."

Sometimes appreciation of pupils is unspoken. Sometimes it is long delayed. But it is none the less certain.

Every teacher, "sower of unseen harvests," can sympathize with a Christmas letter that an editor of a newspaper in a small town wrote some years ago to a beloved primary teacher who spent forty-two years in the schools of that town. Here is part of the letter:

Dear Miss Merrill:

I wonder if you remember me. It has been just thirty-two years (nearly a third of a century) since I went to school to you, down in the (nearly a third of a century) since I went to school to you, down in the old East building, and tracked in mud and snow and dirt and a belligerent disposition on my brass-toed shoes. It is a long time ago. But I am a boy again, because I have been out riding with Tots and Max and a lot of their little friends in a bob-sled, in the first snow of the season.

Yes, it is a long time ago. It has been five whole years since you were Tots' teacher and three years since you taught Max. I wonder why I had to wait until I lived over again in Tots and Max before I came to appreciate the wonderful beneficence of your life.

With the dawn of Christmas Day almost here, I wonder if you can even slightly comprehend how loving hearts from all over this wide world are going out to you in a spirit of gratitude and thanks because of your influence upon their lives.

I wonder if, in all the world, there lives another human being who has come to know the soul and structure of the child heart as you.

I wonder if, in all the world, there lives another who has with divine patience answered so many baby questions—and smiled.

I wonder if, in all the world, there lives another who has healed so many hurts of children, hurts of soul and flesh.

You have never stopped, I know, to reckon how many folks there are, in all the various avenues of earth who have never seen anything save a smile of love from your lips.

Tell me, Miss Merrill, how many miles your tired fingers have traveled behind a pair of scissors, cutting "pretty things" for baby eyes to see.

Tell me, Miss Merrill, how many bits of bright paper you have folded for them, and how many pairs of child eyes have looked up to you in full appreciation.

Tell me, Miss Merrill, how many stories you have woven around the birth of the baby Jesus in the manger at Bethlehem, how many stories of Washington, of Lincoln, of the Flag, how many stories of the birds, the flowers, the clouds, the rainbow.

Tell me, Miss Merrill, how many prayers you have taught, real prayers that went straight to the Throne, because they were prayers of innocence and sublime faith. I remember when Max came home one evening, her brown eyes all sober, and told how you had taught them to pray for Constance, who had gone on. It broke up the whole family.

I wonder if you realize, Miss Merrill, that among all the hundreds of people, who started first in school to you, those now in the fullness of their years—I wonder if you do realize that thousands of times they have been made better, tenderer, richer, because when they lifted the veil that sometimes hides the treasures of the past—Miss Merrill was standing there—in the old first room. . . .

You are to be envied above all others that I know, but there lives no one who would take from you even one kind thought.¹³

Not only is there the endless delight of watching and guiding the growth and development of children, but there is also the priceless satisfaction of knowing that one is serving his country and helping build a better world.

During World War II we thrilled to the heroism of such men as Gabriel Peri, a French official, who, before he was shot by the Nazis, wrote: "I should like my fellow country-men to know that I am dying that France may live. I have made a last examination of conscience and am satisfied. If I had to begin over again I would travel the same road. In a few minutes I am going to prepare the tomorrows that sing."

But whether or not we have "tomorrows that sing" depends,

¹³ Written by Burr Swan, editor of *The Pike County Republican*, Pittsfield, Illinois.

finally, not upon soldiers or other wartime heroes, but upon citizens prepared to carry on peacetime activities with the same skill and devotion that our fighting men display. Whether or not we have such citizens depends in no small measure upon the work of teachers, the sculptors of new citizens.

Little wonder that many former GI's who returned to college prepared themselves to teach. One of them has well phrased the responsibility of teachers in the postwar world:

Certainly there is no more challenging occupation today than that of striving to guide youth in its exploration of methods of establishing a functioning world society. Many of us GI's, who were so recently involved in the result of the disastrous experiment of permitting areas of barbarism to develop, recognize the obligation to shape a world citizenship.

If the men who helped fight and win World War II can contribute anything to education today, I think it is a realization of the vital role of the teacher as one of the few valid influences on popular thinking and action—particularly in time of crisis. Today and tomorrow the teacher has a place of great responsibility in the essential examination of our present values and as we move into new areas of thinking and planning.¹⁴

Little wonder that a man of vision like James Hilton declared:

"If I had a child who wanted to be a teacher I would bid him Godspeed as if he were going to a war. For indeed the war against prejudice, greed, and ignorance is eternal, and those who dedicate themselves to it give their lives no less because they may live to see some fraction of the battle won. They are the commandoes of the peace, if peace is to be more than a short armistice. As in a relay race, our armed men have handed victory to those who dare not stand still to admire it, but must run with it for very life to a further and larger goal."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

1. In what ways do a teacher's influence and opportunities for service affect your attitude toward teaching?
2. Why are statistics on teachers' salaries often misleading?
3. Consult the school law of your state to ascertain provisions on these matters: certification, tenure, retirement, and pension.

¹⁴ James Hennessy, "So You're Going To Be a Teacher," *Survey Graphic*, November, 1947, p. 627.

4. Hold a panel discussion on these topics: (a) Should high-school teachers receive more salary than elementary teachers with equal ability, preparation, and experience? (b) Should men and women teachers receive equal pay for equal work, if they have the same ability, preparation, and experience? (c) Should married women be employed as teachers?
5. How will consolidation of schools affect the demand for teachers?
6. Investigate the supply of teachers in your state. In what fields does it equal or exceed the demand? Consult reports of your college placement bureau to ascertain probable chances of securing a position in your major field.
7. In what ways do teachers sometimes manifest a "martyr complex"?
8. "Would you choose teaching again?" was the question asked a sampling of New York City teachers in 1950. Fifty-six percent answered "No." Mention reasons that may have prompted their reply.
9. From *Unseen Harvests*, edited by Fuess and Basford, choose a selection that shows convincingly the personal satisfactions derived from teaching.
10. Write a short paper on the topic, "Why I Have Decided to Teach."

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A P P E N D I X B

*Audio-Visual Materials*¹

This section was prepared by Arthur F. Byrnes, Director of the Audio-Visual Center of Eastern Illinois State College. The following suggested audio-visual materials are designed to clarify concepts, to introduce or summarize ideas presented in the text. If previewed beforehand and used in timely fashion they will do much toward giving concrete meaning to otherwise abstract ideas.

The list is not exhaustive. Other materials are available in the various areas discussed in the text. In most cases the suggested titles can readily be secured from local sources. In all cases the producer can tell where titles can be located. Time in minutes, sound or silent, color or black and white, the name of the producer, and a content summary are given for each title. A directory of the producers and their addresses follows the title listings.

CHAPTER I

The Individual and the Culture

FILMS

Ape and Child Series: Part I (19 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). General behavior of normal human infant between ages of 10 and 14½ months compared with behavior of chimpanzee companion between ages of 7½ and 12 months. Both child and animal were allowed to develop in typical human civilized surroundings. Six phases of behavioral development illustrated: upright walking, affectionate behavior toward adults, strength, indoor and outdoor play, reactions to water, and reactions to riding in vehicles. Early effects of human environment upon ape and some basic differences between ape and child are illustrated.

Ape and Child Series: Part II (18 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Reactions of normal human infant between ages 10 and 14½ months to psy-

¹ Some of the film and filmstrip summations are based on the *Educational Film Guide*, H. W. Wilson Company.

chological tests, and responses of chimpanzee companion, age 7½ to 12 months, to same tests compared. Brings out effects of different rates of growth and learning abilities; capacity of animal to outdo child in many tests illustrated. Tests include hand preference, startle reaction time, delayed reaction, cap-on-head (demonstrating manipulative ability of hands and arms), detour, tickle, ice, and rotation (showing general behavior and nystagmoid eye movements).

Ape and Child Series: Part III (18 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Film demonstrates more complex problems solved by normal human infant, age 16 to 19 months and young chimpanzee, age 13½ to 16½ months. Subjects lived together in same social situation for six months previous to photographed performance. Following tests shown: hand-in-loop, foot-in-loop, sound localization, suspended cookie, and hoe experiment. Ape consistently learns various tasks more rapidly than infant.

Ape and Child Series: Part IV (17 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Film compares "incidental" or nonexperimental behavior of human infant and chimpanzee after six months in same environment. Scenes cover range of 13½ to 16½ months for chimpanzee, and 16 to 19 months for child. Nine comparisons: upright walking, reaction to colored picture book, difference in climbing ability, eating with spoon, drinking from glass, beginning of cooperative play, Gesell test of pointing to parts of body, imitation of scribbling of experimenter (Gesell test), and affectionate behavior toward each other. Film shows most advanced nonexperimental behavior of individuals in course of nine months of similar treatment.

Ape and Child Series: Part V (8 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Shows facial expressions of human infant, 11½ to 12 months of age, and chimpanzee, 9 to 9½ months old, when subjected to various taste stimuli. Stimuli for taste (titled in film): sweet (solution of sugar), sour (solution of citric acid), salt (solution of sodium chloride), and bitter (solution of quinine).

Families First (17 min., Sound, B&W, NYSDC). Contrast between family in which children are integrated into group and family in which children's interests and needs are ignored. Results of both types of family training are shown.

Imitation in a Home-Raised Chimpanzee (15 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Viki, home-raised chimpanzee, shown at ages 20 to 36 months in variety of imitative activities: making gestures, hammering, blowing whistle, opening food cans, and the like. Also shows some problem-solving behavior.

Social Development (16 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). Social behavior patterns at various ages; reasons for development; emotional conflicts of "gang age"; necessity for child to meet and solve problems; how adults can help.

Study in Human Development: Part I, Six to Thirty Weeks (19 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Presents boy at 6, 12, 17, 21, 25, and 30 weeks of age. At each stage, child's reactions shown to objects including cup, spoon, and blocks. Supine, prone, and sitting (with support) postures demonstrated. Sequence at 21 weeks shows rolling from back to stomach, early patterns of crawling and feeding. Last two age levels show later development of manipulation, response to sound-making objects, and improvements in postural and locomotor activities.

Study in Human Development: Part II, Forty-Two Weeks to Fifteen Months (17 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Records at 42 weeks, 12 months, and 15 months of age. Emphasis given to gross motor development and to perceptual-manipulatory reactions to objects including cup, spoon, bell, hoop, ball, and mirror. Child pulls up, stands, crawls, mounts stairs, and exhibits walking readiness. At one year of age he is given simple tests for fine manipulation, imitation, and stair climbing. Development of motor skills further demonstrated for 15 months' stage, and early interactions with another child described photographically.

Study in Human Development: Part III, Nineteen Months to Two Years and Eight Months (19 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). Emphasizes continued gross and fine motor development and beginnings of coöperative play. Stages shown are 19, 24, 42 months. At 19 months boy imitates building-block play, drinks by holding glass with both hands, and throws ball. Exhibits handedness. Play is noncoöperative. At two years boy walks upstairs, but shows hesitation and caution about descending. Marks on paper, but no patterns made. Great increment in motor development, but play still essentially individualistic. Child draws patterns and crude "man" at 32 months. Plays more coöperatively with other children, uses wide variety of toys and play equipment.

Study in Human Development: Part IV, Three Years to Five Years (18 min., Silent, B&W, PCR). At third year socially interdependent play, development of skill in drawing, and typical motor-coördination demonstrated. Fourth year brings finer coördination, greater ability in drawing and rudimentary musical skills; application of performance tests for intelligence shown at this level. During fifth

year boy enrolls in kindergarten and begins characteristic social play activities.

This Is Robert: A Study of Growth in a Pre-School Child (75 min., Sound, B&W, NYU). Film is detailed and extensive pictorial-verbal presentation of case study of Robert, covering period of life from entrance into nursery school at two years through first year in public school when seven. Robert shown and described in daily routine in modern nursery school; dealing with things, people, and animals. Pediatric examination illustrates physical characteristics and health factors. Robert shown at several age levels performing in projective test (play) situations. These performances, as amplified through multiple-voice commentary based on extensive case history data, depict Robert's initial and developing behavior characteristics. Film demonstrates thoroughly projective play techniques of child study. Comparisons made between Robert and other children. Meaning of Robert's behavioral adjustments interpreted in relation to personal needs and family interactions. Robert shown to be aggressive, defensive, egocentric, and subject to strong emotional outbursts. Through skillful handling by mother and teacher, he makes satisfactory adjustment. However, Robert "is a vulnerable child."

FILMSTRIP

Five Important Years—Then School (15 min., Sound, B&W, AL). Discusses growth of the child in his environment from one to five years and his readiness for school.

RECORDINGS

A Decision for Tommy (30 min., 78 or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, NASSP). Originally designed for radio broadcast. This transcription documents some of the reasons, formed by society, that lead a boy to drop out of school.

Culture and Personality (15 min., 78 or 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ ips magnetic tape, SS). Dr. Otto Klineberg discusses the nature of culture and its effects on personality.

CHAPTER II

Educative Influences

FILMS

A Class for Tommy (21 min., Sound, B&W, Bailey). Visually describes an experiment to show children's progress in elementary school if

that greater freedom and responsibility are given to children on the basis of real maturity, not just calendar age.

Your Family (10 min., Sound, B&W or Color, C). The film story of a happy family—the Brents. They have difficulties, of course, but through mutual understanding, acceptance of responsibility, and co-operation they achieve that vital sense of unity so necessary to a happy and harmonious home life. Intended to develop an appreciation and understanding of the family as a social unit, and the role of the individual in that unit.

Youth in Camps (22 min., Sound, B&W, LC). Contrasts the traditional summer camp with the small independent “camptivity” plan characteristic of Life Camps.

CHAPTER III

Schools and the Democratic Ideal

FILMS

A Girl from Puerto Rico (18 min., Sound, Color, PRL). The film shows a new Puerto Rican girl's first day in school, the hostility of one student, use of a social studies project to build better understanding. A film within a film about the island of Puerto Rico, and the fiesta organized by the students featuring Spanish and Puerto Rican dances and songs.

Americans All (16 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). A survey of racial and religious tensions throughout the U.S. and of programs for combating prejudices, particularly the Springfield (Massachusetts) plan for intercultural education.

Democracy (11 min., Sound, B&W, EBF). The nature and meaning of democracy. Its two unique characteristics—shared respect and shared power—are defined and described. Then two important conditions are examined which have historically promoted the growth of democracy—balanced economic distribution and enlightenment.

House I Live In (10 min., Sound, B&W, YA). Develops the theme of understanding religious and racial problems. A group of boys find common interests through the leadership of Frank Sinatra, who sings two songs in the picture.

Nationalism (20 min., Sound, B&W, EBF). Defines nationalism and traces its development in modern times. Explains its changing aspects as revealed in three important phases: democratic, independent, and imperialist nationalism. Points up nationalism as a force

for both progress and regress in the modern world; emphasizes today's need for directing constructive aspects toward world peace.

Picture in Your Mind (16 min., Sound, Color, IFB). Through symbols the film presents the earliest roots of prejudice, and reasons why any group, tribe, or nation thinks its way of life is superior to the other man's mode of living.

In the second half a forceful plea is made to every individual viewer to reexamine his own mind to see whether his mental picture of the other man is distorted.

Practicing Democracy in the Classroom (22 min., Sound, B&W, EBF). Explains how every classroom teacher can help students understand, appreciate, and practice the ways of democracy regardless of what he is teaching. This film points out the strategic position of schools in maintaining and strengthening our democracy. It tells the story of how a teacher and a class can work together to develop qualities that are essential for a good citizen in a democracy. Shows how establishing goals, selecting problems, working together, reporting, discussing, and evaluating can be carried on in the classroom. Depicts how teachers and parents can work together to improve classroom procedures. Shows how democratic methods of teaching can be used at different grade levels and in various subject areas.

Secure the Blessings (25 min., Sound, B&W, NEA). Discusses the role of education in the United States as it prepares people to use the democratic method of solving problems. Shows five adults who are trying to solve their problems in human relations objectively. They learned to make decisions at school.

The Cummingtown Story (20 min., Sound, B&W, UW). An intimate portrait of life in a rural New England town, and a strong plea against intolerance. A group of European refugees comes to live among conservative Americans. After a while the newcomers are accepted into the life of the community.

"The story shows how the pastor of one of the town's churches looked after some European refugees. He took care of their housing, employment and social contacts. True 'brotherly love' was illustrated."

The High Wall (32 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). An outbreak of violence between teen-age gangs has put two of the boys in the hospital. When a psychiatrist and a social case worker reconstruct the background facts, they find that one of the boys has lived in a frustrated, insecure family environment. The parents have surrounded their children and themselves with a high wall of prejudice against neigh-

bors of foreign ancestry. The pattern of aggression has been passed from parents to children, and from one member of the teen-age gang to the others. The film leaves the problems of mental health and intergroup relations open for discussion.

To Live Together (30 min., Sound, B&W, An-DL). Deals with constructive lessons taught by harmonious living in an interracial camp. The intended audience is adult, with special emphasis on the social work field, educators, mental health organization, parent-teacher associations, and groups interested in camping.

FILMSTRIP

Democracy at Work (38 frames, Silent, Color, CUR). The freedoms practiced and enjoyed by Bill, Ed, and Helen in Fairtown, an ideal democracy, are contrasted with the autocratic rule of a dictator.

RECORDINGS

Face to Face (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). A teacher finds her class divided by a prejudice implanted in a student's mind by his father. Her handling of the problem is a lesson in American democracy.

George Washington Carver (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). Born in slavery, died in freedom—this was the difficult road traveled by one of America's great scientists and humanitarians who devoted his life to the betterment not of his own people alone but of all people everywhere.

One Small Voice (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). A little man, a storekeeper, discovers that his small voice, if he speaks out, is a powerful influence against intolerance in his community.

The Bridge Builder (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). A story of a college professor who believes that education is for the deserving—all the deserving, regardless of religion or race—and fights for his belief.

The Facts of Life (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). The story of a boy who wants a university education, finds his road blocked by prejudice, and discovers that the road block can be removed but not without a struggle.

Woodrow Wilson (15 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). He devoted his life to democracy, to peace, to an end to war; he gave his life for the good world that is mankind's dream and hope.

Yes Your Honesty (14 min., 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ rpm, IDE). An immigrant learns the true meaning of democracy, justice, and a home in this, his adopted land, where many people from all parts of the world work and live together in peace.

CHAPTERS IV AND V

Development of Elementary Education
Development of Secondary and Higher Education

FILMS

- American Teacher* (15 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). Presents pros and cons of "progressive education" and points out the citizen's responsibility toward schools. Also gives a brief history of education in the United States, including present emphasis upon psychology.
- As Our Boyhood Is* (17 min., Sound, B&W, Brandon). Shows development of Negro education. Emphasizes that such a development was slow and difficult, from the schoolhouse with broken windows and teachers only a few steps ahead of pupils, to the modern school which spreads its influence beyond the confines of its four walls through training in home economics, machine shop practices, and handicrafts. Ends with shots of Negroes in universities, as surgeons and nurses in hospitals, and in the Army.
- Education for All* (22 min., Sound, Color, Harmon). A history of education tracing its growth from free academy through the modern institution, using as an illustration the City College of New York.
- Horace Mann* (20 min., Sound, B&W, EBF). Portrays important episodes in the life of the "father of the common schools," Horace Mann. Reviews his activities as teacher, lawyer, state senator, state board of education secretary, and college president. Emphasizes Mann's great work in pointing up the need for good schools, good textbooks, democratic methods of learning, schools for teachers, and universal education in the United States.
- New Schools for Old* (10 min., Sound, B&W, MMA). Contrasts little red schoolhouse, its methods and results, with modern classrooms and effects of new teaching techniques.
- Schools March On* (17 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). The story of what happened in Woodford County, Illinois, when outmoded one-room schools were eliminated by reorganization and consolidation, resulting in larger units of well-equipped and well-staffed schools. Through efforts of local educators and interested citizens, children of this community are being prepared to face citizenship tasks of tomorrow.
- The School (Two Thousand Years Ago)* (15 min., Sound, B&W, UW). A boy arrives at the synagogue. He recites the Shema, learns verses

from the Torah, and learns to read from cards. At home mother teaches daughter, and in the evening father reads to family.

CHAPTER VI

Public-School Administration

FILMS

Board of Education (23 min., Sound, B&W, UW). Residents of a rural community in the U.S. organize to obtain a modern consolidated school and improved educational opportunities for their children. Prepared originally for use in occupied areas.

Classroom Lighting (20 min., Sound, Color, Wakefield). Shows a plan whereby daylight can be controlled and fully utilized in the school classroom, brightness ratios within the classroom reduced to prevent glare by sanding desks, refinishing the rooms with proper reflectances. Then pictures modern types of lighting equipment available.

Design for American Public Education (16 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). This film compares and contrasts operation of the "assembly-line" kind of educational process with one that is tailored to meet the needs of today's young people. Under the first system children are fed into the educational hopper and turned out—carbon copies of each other, with little or no consideration given to individual talents. Under such regimentation a child has little chance of retaining his individuality.

The other side of the picture is a decentralized, locally controlled educational system that can tailor its curriculum to community needs. Typical state, county, and local setups are shown—where the educational objective is creating inquiring minds, building democratic ideals and qualities of leadership, developing a complete individual capable of assuming his place in society.

The School and the Community (14 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). The film opens with scenes showing run-down, worn-out buildings, antiquated methods, and attitudes. Contrasts this to modern administration of schools and the different results produced.

RECORDING

Tomorrow Won't Wait (6½ min., 33⅓ rpm, NEA). The story of two checker-playing "old timers" who decide to fight against the building of a new school. But Bert Potter decides to get the "facts" himself. When a teacher points out that she obviously can't give children as

much with half-day sessions as she could in a full day, Grandfather Potter realizes that children of today cannot wait until tomorrow to get an education, because "tomorrow won't wait."

CHAPTER VIII

Living and Learning in Modern Elementary Schools

FILMS

A Child Went Forth (20 min., Sound, B&W, Brandon). Deals with children from two to seven, showing them in activities designed to cultivate self-reliance and independence. In close contact with nature in conditions as primitive as is consistent with safety, the children learn how to live with one another, learn self-discipline, learn how to build things and to develop their creative instinct.

The commentary relates the activities of the camp to progressive-education techniques and emphasizes the potential importance of such institutions in solving the problem of caring for children of women employed in defense industries and of emergency evacuation of city children.

A Day in the Life of a Five-Year-Old (20 min., Sound, B&W, Teach. Coll.). Portrays young children interpreting the world about them in a spacious, well-planned, and well-equipped kindergarten setting. The role of the teacher in guiding these children through a happy, meaningful, and satisfying day is shown.

Elementary School of Tomorrow (12 min., Silent, Color, Lib. Films). A picture of progressive education as followed in Greenbelt, Maryland, showing activities in art, rhythm, nature studies, and other subjects in the elementary school.

Helping Our First-Grade Children to Learn (32 min., Sound, Color, NYC). Interprets the learning processes of the first-year program in the city schools. Intended to serve both in teacher training and in explaining the program to the public.

Learning Through Cooperative Planning (20 min., Sound, B&W, Teach. Coll.). How elementary-school children can acquire one of the most important skills of the modern times—effective participation as a member of a group.

Our Coming Generation (20 min., Sound, Color, Brandon). Children's life in a city day nursery in the East Side House, New York City. Activities of the children, role of the teacher, and share of parents in the school program are shown.

Play Materials in the Elementary School (23 min., Silent, Part Color, Ball State). An experiment in recreation conducted by a college class in collaboration with the college Audio-Visual Center. Devices are shown for periods of activity when children require space to run, jump, climb, push and pull. Shows fundamental play materials and supplementary toys used by the children of the Riley Elementary School, Muncie, Indiana.

School (20 min., Sound, B&W, Lib. Films). Dramatizes the ultra-progressive philosophy of education, showing the life and curriculum of a school adhering to such a philosophy. Photographed at the Hes-sian-Hills School in Groton, New York.

The Elementary School, Part I (25 min., Sound, B&W or Color, Vir. Ed. Dept.). Emphasizes aspects of good school environment, such as plant and equipment, pupil and teacher welfare, and school relationships. Shows provisions for physical and mental health of all pupils.

The Elementary School, Part II (25 min., Sound, B&W or Color, Vir. Ed. Dept.). Shows experiences through which children acquire communicative and number skills and develop their interests in practical and fine arts.

The Elementary School, Part III (20 min., Sound, B&W or Color, Vir. Ed. Dept.). Shows opportunities for children to develop a knowledge of the physical world and an understanding of their country and relationship of peoples.

The School (21 min., Sound, B&W, UW). One day's activities in an elementary school—janitor opening the building, children on their way to school, first grade studying and playing, and a PTA meeting in the evening.

We Go to School (10 min., Sound, B&W or Color, C). Helps children who are first entering school with the tremendous adjustment from the protective, comparatively unrestricted shelter of their home. Teaches them what they can expect from school; what the school, in turn, expects from them, together with the importance of school rules. School gives youngsters a sense of security in making them feel they belong in this new environment.

FILMSTRIPS

Education for All American Children (52 frames, Silent, B&W, NEA). Illustrates major conclusions and recommendations in the Educational Policies Commission's report of the same title which presents the elementary school of tomorrow.

School Buildings, 1953 (119 frames, Silent, B&W, NEA). This filmstrip, produced as an aid to school-plant planning, contains plans for

several school buildings. Each plan was developed for a specific situation, and reflects climatic conditions, resources available, and projection of community educational needs into the school-plant plan. Latest improvements in building, such as trilateral lighting, radiant-floor heating, and natural ventilation, are also shown.

Trip Through Our Schools (54 frames, Silent, B&W, Trin. King). A picture story with actual photographs showing John's first day at school. His teacher takes him with the rest of the class on a trip through the school where they visit the principal, nurse, boiler room, garden, play area, etc.

We Go to School (35 frames, Silent, B&W, YA). Follows a young boy from the moment he awakens and realizes that this is to be his first day at school, to his meeting the policeman on his way to his new adventure, to seeing the different things there are to do at school (playing, singing, learning, dancing), to the time he returns home, filled with wonderful stories about his first day at school.

RECORDINGS

The Goal Beyond (6½ min., 33⅓ rpm, NEA). At a PTA meeting, Miss May relates a few experiences which show that schools are teaching unselfishness, honesty, and appreciation of spiritual values. Her story of the little sixth-grader shows how schools give children an awareness of God's goodness without teaching sectarian religion. Her account of the stolen money and the little boy who wanted to play Lincoln are further examples of teaching moral and spiritual values in schools.

Threshold (6½ min., 33⅓ rpm, NEA). This is the story of Toby, a first-grade boy, who took his own time about learning to read. Toby's granddad, who was "taught to read whether he was ready or not," just couldn't understand why Toby, after three whole months of school, didn't even know his alphabet. Explains that all children are different and that the good teacher must take this into account, especially in teaching reading.

CHAPTER IX

Secondary Schools for Today's Youth

FILMS

Building for Learning (19 min., Sound, Color, Tex. Eng. Ex.). Stresses importance of coördinating school-building construction with modern techniques of education. In other words, shows that school

buildings of the present and future must be designed for the child and make the most of such considerations as light, air, sound, function, and structure. Intended particularly for architects, PTA's, educators, civic leaders, and others concerned with school-building construction in their communities.

Design for Learning (20 min., Sound, Color, Pho. & Sd.). Progressive steps in construction of a modern high school—Acalanes High School, Lafayette, California.

High School: Your Challenge (12 min., Sound, B&W or Color, C). Explains, in simple terms, why a high-school education is essential in today's world and why it is a vocational must. The film approaches high school from the viewpoint of the student, enabling him to discover the importance that a high-school education will have and the unforgettable part it will play in his life.

Our Town Is Our Classroom (21 min., Sound, B&W, UW). Shows pupils being taught in school about the government of their town. Instead of learning from books, the students attend town council meetings, court, and meetings between citizens and officials. Produced originally for use in occupied areas.

RECORDING

The Kindled Spark (6½ min., 33⅓ rpm, NEA). This is an answer to the criticism that our schools are not teaching American history. Although Andy, a high-school senior, doesn't know the exact date of the Battle of Bunker Hill, he shows his grandfather that schools are teaching democracy. Points out that memorizing facts does not mean much unless children understand what those facts mean. Emphasizes that schools are primarily interested in developing good citizens who can think.

CHAPTER X

The Kind of Teachers We Need

FILMS

American Teacher (15 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). All good teachers know that their methods are as individualistic and personal as any other artist's, and realize the importance of teaching their pupils how to think.

"Good for showing pros and cons of progressive education and impressing every citizen with his responsibility for the quality of edu-

cation his community provides. Also stresses the idea that we must develop in children the ability to think as well as to acquire facts."

And So They Learn (13 min., Sound, B&W, Gen. Mills). A record of actual day-by-day experiences in a nutrition-education workshop conducted for elementary-grade teachers at Mankato State Teachers College, Minnesota.

How nutrition information can be integrated into regular classroom studies is demonstrated by laboratory school activities which include children's participation in planting a garden, designing and painting a mural, planning picnic menus, and conducting animal experiments in relation to balanced diets.

Broader Concepts of Method, Part I, Developing Pupil Interest (13 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). Presents the conventional, teacher-dominated, lesson-hearing type of recitation, and shows typical effects of this method upon student attitudes, responses, and learning. The film then shows alternative techniques to achieve broader educational objectives. A comparison is drawn between the formal recitation and the informal, group-discussion types of class sessions in which students are permitted, under unobtrusive teacher guidance, to share in planning their work and are thereby stimulated toward worthwhile and meaningful learning experiences.

Broader Concepts of Method, Part II, Teacher and Pupils Planning and Working Together (19 min., Sound, B&W, McG-H). Students are shown learning to work together, to organize themselves into functional groups, and to present their findings and recommendations in a group report. In these activities some difficulties are encountered which the teacher helps them to overcome by tact and guidance.

First Lessons (22 min., Sound, B&W, IFB). A teacher is faced with many problems when an aggressive child becomes a member of the class. The child himself is not the only problem; the teacher must also deal with the other children who are exposed to the aggressive child's behavior. The teacher must realize that both the child's actions and the way she handles annoying situations will definitely affect the attitudes of the rest of the children. The film presents these problems and shows how a teacher might work to overcome them.

Investment in Youth (22 min., Sound, Color or B&W, Bailey). The activities of Burnaby school children as they progress from Grades 1 to 12. Develops the theme that youth is Canada's most valuable natural resource, and that public expenditure for their development is a sound investment.

Teaching (11 min., Sound, B&W, Mahnke). States the contributions of teachers to American democracy and presents traits of a good teacher, attractions in teaching, educational requirements, and various types of teaching jobs.

The Teacher (13 min., Sound, B&W, EBF). The story of Julia Whitaker, a middle-aged fourth-grade teacher, is used to explain the role of the teacher in the community, her professional and personal life, and her contribution to furthering education after extensive preparation and study.

What Greater Gift (30 min., Sound, B&W or Color, NEA or your state teachers association). Dramatizes the teacher as a professional person and shows what today's teaching is all about.

Producers and Distributors

Al	American Legion National Headquarters, Indianapolis, Indiana.
An-DL	Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.
Assn.	Association Films, 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York; Broad at Elm, Ridgefield, New Jersey; 79 E. Adams Street, Chicago 3, Illinois; 351 Turk Street, San Francisco 2, California; 1915 Live Oak Street, Dallas 1, Texas.
Bailey	Bailey Films Inc., 6509 DeLongpre Avenue, Hollywood 28, California.
Ball State	Ball State College, Audio Visual Center, Muncie, Indiana.
Brandon	Brandon Films Inc., 220 W. 57 Street, New York 19, New York; Film Center Inc., 64 W. Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.
C	Coronet Films, 65 E. South Water Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.
CUR	Curriculum Films Inc., 10 E. 40 Street, New York 16, New York.
EBF	Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Illinois.
Frith	Frith Films, 1816 N. Highland, Hollywood 28, California.
Gen. Mills	General Mills Film Library, General Mills, Inc., 400 Second Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Harmon	Harmon Foundation Film Division, 140 Nassau Street, New York 38, New York.

- IDE Institute for Democratic Education, Inc., 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.
- IFB International Film Bureau, 57 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois.
- LC Life Camps Inc., 369 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, New York.
- Lib. Films Library Films Inc., 25 W. 45 Street, New York 19, New York.
- Mahnke Carl F. Mahnke Productions, 215 E. 3 Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
- McG-H McGraw-Hill, Text Film Department, 330 W. 42 Street, New York 36, New York.
- MMA Museum of Modern Art Film Library, 11 W. 53 Street, New York 19, New York.
- Modern Modern Talking Picture Service Inc., 45 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, New York.
- NASSP National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
- NEA National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
- New Tools New Tools Learning Bureau, State Teachers College, Upper Montclair, New Jersey.
- NYC New York City Board of Education, 110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn 2, New York.
- NYSDC New York State Department of Commerce Film Library, 112 State Street, Albany 7, New York.
- NYU New York University Film Library, Washington Square 3, New York City.
- PCR Psychological Cinema Register, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania.
- Pho. & Sd. Photo and Sound Productions, 116 Natoma Street, San Francisco 5, California.
- PRL Department of Labor of Puerto Rico, Education Section 21 W. 60 Street, New York 23, New York.
- SS Sound Seminars, 2355 Beechmont Avenue, Cincinnati 30, Ohio.
- Teach. Coll. Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120 Street, New York 27, New York.
- Tex. Eng. Ex. Texas Engineering Experiment Station, Supervisor of Publications, College Station, Texas.
- Trin. King Trindl-King, 123 South Bowling Green Way, Los Angeles 24, California.

- UW United World, 1445 Park Avenue, New York 29,
New York; 542 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois;
7356 Melrose Avenue, Hollywood 46, California.
- Vir. Ed. Dept. Virginia State Department of Education, Film Pro-
duction Service, Richmond 16, Virginia.
- Wakefield Wakefield Brass Company, Vermilion, Ohio.
- Wayne Wayne University, Audio-Visual Materials Con-
sultation Bureau, 5442 Second Boulevard, Detroit 1,
Michigan.
- YA Young America Films Inc., 18 E. 41 Street, New
York 17, New York.

A P P E N D I X C

Code of Ethics of the National Education Association of the United States

(Adopted by the Representative Assembly,
Detroit, Michigan, 1952)

We, the members of the National Education Association of the United States, hold these truths to be self-evident—

- that the primary purpose of education in the United States is to develop citizens who will safeguard, strengthen, and improve the democracy obtained thru a representative government;
- that the achievement of effective democracy in all aspects of American life and the maintenance of our national ideals depend upon making acceptable educational opportunities available to all;
- that the quality of education reflects the ideals, motives, preparation, and conduct of the members of the teaching profession;
- that whoever chooses teaching as a career assumes the obligation to conduct himself in accordance with the ideals of the profession.

As a guide for the teaching profession, the members of the National Education Association have adopted this code of professional ethics. Since all teachers should be members of a united profession, the basic principles herein enumerated apply to all persons engaged in the professional aspects of education—elementary, secondary, and collegiate.

FIRST PRINCIPLE: *The primary obligation of the teaching profession is to guide children, youth, and adults in the pursuit of knowledge and skills, to prepare them in the ways of democracy, and to help them to become happy, useful, self-supporting citizens. The ultimate strength of the nation lies in the social responsibility, economic competence, and moral strength of the individual American.*

In fulfilling the obligations of this first principle the teacher will—

1. Deal justly and impartially with students regardless of their physical, mental, emotional, political, economic, social, racial, or religious characteristics.

2. Recognize the differences among students and seek to meet their individual needs.
3. Encourage students to formulate and work for high individual goals in the development of their physical, intellectual, creative, and spiritual endowments.
4. Aid students to develop an understanding and appreciation not only of the opportunities and benefits of American democracy but also of their obligations to it.
5. Respect the right of every student to have confidential information about himself withheld except when its release is to authorized agencies or is required by law.
6. Accept no remuneration for tutoring except in accordance with approved policies of the governing board.

SECOND PRINCIPLE: *The members of the teaching profession share with parents the task of shaping each student's purposes and acts toward socially acceptable ends. The effectiveness of many methods of teaching is dependent upon cooperative relationships with the home.*

In fulfilling the obligations of this second principle the teacher will—

1. Respect the basic responsibility of parents for their children.
2. Seek to establish friendly and cooperative relationships with the home.
3. Help to increase the student's confidence in his own home and avoid disparaging remarks which might undermine that confidence.
4. Provide parents with information that will serve the best interests of their children, and be discreet with information received from parents.
5. Keep parents informed about the progress of their children as interpreted in terms of the purposes of the school.

THIRD PRINCIPLE: *The teaching profession occupies a position of public trust involving not only the individual teacher's personal conduct, but also the interaction of the school and the community. Education is most effective when these many relationships operate in a friendly, cooperative, and constructive manner.*

In fulfilling the obligations of this third principle the teacher will—

1. Adhere to any reasonable pattern of behavior accepted by the community for professional persons.
2. Perform the duties of citizenship, and participate in community activities with due consideration for his obligations to his students, his family, and himself.
3. Discuss controversial issues from an objective point of view, thereby keeping his class free from partisan opinions.

4. Recognize that the public schools belong to the people of the community, encourage lay participation in shaping the purposes of the school, and strive to keep the public informed of the educational program which is being provided.
5. Respect the community in which he is employed and be loyal to the school system, community, state, and nation.
6. Work to improve education in the community and to strengthen the community's moral, spiritual, and intellectual life.

FOURTH PRINCIPLE: *The members of the teaching profession have inescapable obligations with respect to employment. These obligations are nearly always shared employer-employee responsibilities based upon mutual respect and good faith.*

In fulfilling the obligations of this fourth principle the teacher will—

1. Conduct professional business thru the proper channels.
2. Refrain from discussing confidential and official information with unauthorized persons.
3. Apply for employment on the basis of competence only, and avoid asking for a specific position known to be filled by another teacher.
4. Seek employment in a professional manner, avoiding such practices as the indiscriminate distribution of applications.
5. Refuse to accept a position when the vacancy has been created through unprofessional activity or pending controversy over professional policy or the application of unjust personnel practices and procedures.
6. Adhere to the conditions of a contract until service thereunder has been performed, the contract has been terminated by mutual consent, or the contract has otherwise been legally terminated.
7. Give and expect due notice before a change of position is to be made.
8. Be fair in all recommendations that are given concerning the work of other teachers.
9. Accept no compensation from producers of instructional supplies when one's recommendations affect the local purchase or use of such teaching aids.
10. Engage in no gainful employment, outside of his contract, where the employment affects adversely his professional status or impairs his standing with students, associates, and the community.
11. Cooperate in the development of school policies and assume one's professional obligations thereby incurred.
12. Accept one's obligation to the employing board for maintaining a professional level of service.

FIFTH PRINCIPLE: *The teaching profession is distinguished from many other occupations by the uniqueness and quality of the professional relationships among all teachers. Community support and respect are influenced by the standards of teachers and their attitudes toward teaching and other teachers.*

In fulfilling the obligations of this fifth principle the teacher will—

1. Deal with other members of the profession in the same manner as he himself wishes to be treated.
2. Stand by other teachers who have acted on his behalf and at his request.
3. Speak constructively of other teachers, but report honestly to responsible persons in matters involving the welfare of students, the school system, and the profession.
4. Maintain active membership in professional organizations and, thru participation, strive to attain the objectives that justify such organized groups.
5. Seek to make professional growth continuous by such procedures as study, research, travel, conferences, and attendance at professional meetings.
6. Make the teaching profession so attractive in ideals and practices that sincere and able young people will want to enter it.

MILESTONES IN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY¹

- 1617-1622—FIRST educational efforts in English North America: Henrico College and East India School.
- 1634—FIRST educational endowment in English North America: the will of Benjamin Syms.
- 1635—FOUNDING of the Boston Latin Grammar School, first college preparatory school.
- 1636—FOUNDING of Harvard, first permanent college in English North America.
- 1640—DISMISSAL of Henry Dunster from Harvard presidency because of his views on infant baptism, apparently first academic-freedom case.
- 1647—MASSACHUSETTS ACT ["Old Deluder Act," which followed the 1642 law ordering that children be taught to read]—first general school law in America.
- 1693—FOUNDING of College of William and Mary, first permanent college in the South.

¹ *Journal of the National Education Association*, February, 1953, p. 97.

- 1735—TRIAL of John Peter Zenger, which helped establish principle of freedom of the press.
- 1750—PUBLICATION of Christopher Dock's *Schulordnung*, first book on teaching published in this country. It was in German.
- 1753—CHARTERING of Benjamin Franklin's Academy, representing the transition between Latin schools and more practical curriculum.
- 1779—THOMAS Jefferson's bill for religious freedom.
- 1779—THOMAS Jefferson's school bill for Virginia, believed to be first plan for a statewide school system in the Western world.
- 1785—CHARTERING of first state university, Georgia.
- 1785, 1787—NORTHWEST Ordinances, which marked beginnings of national aid for education.
- 1795—OPENING of first state university, North Carolina.
- 1795—New York State's act for the encouragement of schools, first state aid to schools.
- 1812—New York provision for first state superintendent of schools, Gideon Hawley.
- 1819—FAMOUS Dartmouth College Decision of US Supreme Court, which established inviolability of a college's charter.
- 1821—OPENING of Troy [New York] Seminary by Emma Willard, which along with opening of Georgia Female College in 1835 and Mt. Holyoke [Massachusetts] Seminary in 1837, pioneered in secondary and higher education for women.
- 1821—FIRST highschool in the US, Boston.
- 1826—FIRST collegiate degree to Negro in US—John Russwurm at Bowdoin College.
- 1827—FIRST state highschool law, Massachusetts.
- 1829—PUBLICATION of Samuel R. Hall's *Lectures on School-Keeping*, first book in English on subject of teaching in this country.
- 1835—THADDEUS Stevens' speech for public-school support in Pennsylvania, perhaps most powerful plea on this subject in 19th century.
- 1837—PROVISION for first real state board of education, Massachusetts.
- 1839—FOUNDING of first state normal school, Massachusetts.
- 1843—HORACE Mann's analysis of public-school conditions in his famous Seventh Report.
- 1845—FIRST state education associations organized in Rhode Island and New York.
- 1852—ENACTMENT of first compulsory school law, Massachusetts.
- 1857—FOUNDING of National Teachers' Association, now the National Education Association.
- 1862—PASSAGE by Congress of Morrill Bill, which became the basis of land-grant colleges.

- 1867—FEDERAL agency now known as the US Office of Education created by Congress.
- 1867—ESTABLISHMENT by George Peabody of first big philanthropic foundation in US.
- 1873—FIRST public kindergarten in US, St. Louis.
- 1874—KALAMAZOO Decision by Michigan Supreme Court, which established state's legal right to public funds for highschools.
- 1876—OPENING of Johns Hopkins University, first graduate school in United States.
- 1893—SIGNIFICANT report of NEA Committee of Ten, first of a series of NEA reports with farreaching effects on curriculum and standards.
- 1897—FOUNDING of organization now known as National Congress of Parents and Teachers.
- 1923—FORMATION of World Federation of Education Associations, forerunner of present World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.
- 1925—OREGON decision of US Supreme Court—children of compulsory school age cannot be required to attend *public* schools.
- 1938—GAINES decision of US Supreme Court—state must offer Negroes educational opportunity within the state equal to that offered white students.
- 1944, 1952—GI BILL of Rights.
- 1945—CREATION of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO].
- 1948, 1949—McCOLLUM and Zorach decisions of US Supreme Court on public schools and religious instruction.
- 1949—ORGANIZATION of National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools.
- 1952—DECISIONS of the US Supreme Court on Feinberg and Oklahoma loyalty legislation.

"THEN AND NOW"²

The American system of free universal elementary and secondary education is unique in world history and is one of the greatest safeguards of our freedoms.

Our ideals of equality of opportunity find their finest expression in the schools—open to all children: the bright and the slow, the normal and the handicapped, the rich and the poor, the rural and the urban. Our generous educational aims have helped to break down class barriers.

To meet new conditions, our schools have changed over the years. Those changes presented in this summary have occurred in the United States in the period from about 1920 to the present.

Many patrons and educators are asking such questions as: What has been happening to American schools? Is the new as good as the old? Will our schools continue to change? If so, how? The following paragraphs suggest answers to these questions.

[1] *Then* there was some concern about organizing larger units of local school administration. *Now* the demand for larger units is so strong that some states have eliminated most of the smaller rural school districts.

[2] *Then* the 8-4 plan of school organization had general acceptance, and few school districts maintained junior highschools or junior colleges. *Now* secondary education has been reorganized and extended upward and downward. Many school districts now maintain junior highschools and junior colleges.

[3] *Then* about 2,500,000 boys and girls of highschool age were enrolled in secondary schools. *Now* more than seven million are enrolled in some type of secondary school. (An enrollment of about 11 million is predicted for 1960 by the US Office of Education.)

[4] *Then* few pupils of low scholastic ability continued beyond the ninth grade. *Now* nearly all students—rapid, moderate, and slow learners—profit from highschool experience.

[5] *Then* the highschool tuition of rural pupils in many states was usually paid by parents, and few farm children entered highschools. *Now* tuition is paid from public funds, and most farm children attend highschools.

[6] *Then* the program of studies in the typical highschool consisted

² J. B. Edmonson, "Then and Now," *Journal of the National Education Association*, January, 1953, p. 49.

of a limited number of units in academic fields. *Now* the program of studies consists of units in a variety of academic, vocational, health, and avocational fields.

[7] *Then* few school systems made any special provision for handicapped pupils. *Now* provision for the handicapped is a part of many school systems, especially in larger cities.

[8] *Then* guidance of pupils was not recognized as a major responsibility of the highschool. *Now* guidance of pupils is recognized as a task of major importance, and many schools have comprehensive guidance programs.

[9] *Then* health education was not considered an important school responsibility in most communities. *Now* major attention to health instruction is becoming common.

[10] *Then* occupational training received little attention except in the larger highschools. *Now* provision for some occupational training is made in most highschools, even the smaller ones.

[11] *Then* secondary schools stressed preparation for citizenship with emphasis on moral and spiritual values. *Now* schools are placing even greater emphasis on education for citizenship with increased attention to spiritual values and human relations.

[12] *Then* there was substantial agreement regarding the aims, content, and values of school courses. *Now* there is considerable variation in thought regarding appropriate aims, content, and values of school subjects. [Progress comes thru such reappraisal.]

[13] *Then* most teachers emphasized memorization and rigid adherence to the requirements of textbooks and courses of study. *Now* teachers place greater emphasis on problem-solving, learning by doing, and use of numerous reference books.

[14] *Then* discipline was usually characterized by teacher domination, with emphasis on strict observance of rules and exacting penalties for violations. *Now* discipline is more generally characterized by teacher-pupil cooperation, with emphasis on good school citizenship, good sportsmanship, and the rewards of good conduct.

[15] *Then* the controlling objective of highschools was preparation of students for a liberal-arts college. *Now* highschools plan for all youth—the noncollege as well as the college preparatory, the rapid as well as the slow learner.

[16] *Then* the demand for more and better education for children and youth was strong. *Now* the demand for more and better education for children and youth is even stronger.

[17] *Then* some teachers and laymen criticized education for depart-

ing from earlier aims, older methods, and traditional requirements. *Now* some teachers and citizens are making similar criticisms of present-day education.

[18] *Then* the teaching profession was ineffectively organized at local, state, and national levels. *Now* strong and influential local, state, and national organizations of teachers are coordinating their efforts toward the improvement of teaching technics, of teacher and student welfare, and of protection of democratic education programs.

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